

COMPARATIVE LITERATURE



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COMPARATIVE LITERATURE



VOLUME IX

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JAMES JOYCE'S ROMAN PROTOTYPE

J. F. KILLEEN

FOR adding still another to the countless articles on James Joyce one might adduce the excuse of Juvenal, relevant here if anywhere: "stulta est clementia . . . periturae parcere chartae." But the demonstration of a probable source for his peculiar use of the Ulysses theme, among other things, may be of sufficient interest to students of Joyce to need no such excuse.

Joyce's indebtedness for the internal monologue to Edouard Du-jardin's neglected novel, *Les Lauriers sont coupés*,¹ which he read on a train journey to Paris at the age of twenty, shows how the chance reading in youth of a comparatively obscure book could determine an essential feature of his later writing. But a schoolboy interest in Ulysses (Levin, *James Joyce*; Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme*) does not seem to account for the travestying spirit which is of the essence of Joyce's treatment of the Ulysses theme.

I wish to call attention to a writer who was in some ways a kindred spirit of Joyce, who used this same motif in the same ribald, image-defacing spirit, and to suggest that, in hanging a realistic novel of low life on the framework of a travestied *Odyssey*, with a variety of styles and parody of all forms of writing from the epic to the novelette, Joyce was doing something for which there was precedent, of which he might easily have known, in a quarter that would not have been the last to influence him—the ancient classics. The combination of similarities, including some of the most characteristic features of Joyce's work, is unlikely to be the result of anything but conscious imitation.

¹ See Valery Larbaud's introduction to the 1924 edition of the book, and the author's own *Le Monologue intérieur* (1931), in which he says that Mallarmé "avait été le seul (avec peut-être Huysmans) à pressentir ce que Joyce devait découvrir plus tard: les immenses possibilités du monologue intérieur." George Moore, more discerning, had seen the danger of the new method: "seulement je crains la monotonic." Joyce's failure to realize this accounts for much of the tedium of *Ulysses*.

Petronius Arbiter's *Satyricon*, the first realistic novel, was the object of much attention at the end of the nineteenth century² and the beginning of the twentieth, Joyce's formative period. It was hailed as "perhaps the artistically highest-ranking production in the whole of Latin literature,"³ as having "an almost Shakespearian breadth and sureness of touch,"⁴ as being "a matchless exemplar of the realistic novel."⁵ It was classed with *Pantagruel* and *Don Quixote* as one of the three sovereign works of Latin genius,⁶ was admired by Flaubert, who mentioned it several times in his correspondence,⁷ and was acclaimed by Huysmans in an eloquent passage of *A rebours*⁸ as being equal in refinement of style, keenness of observation, and firmness of method to the French naturalistic novels of modern times. Sainte-Beuve⁹ spoke of the "livre charmant et terrible," in which "chaque morceau est exquis, chaque détail suffit pour engager."

Petronius was known to Joyce's Dublin contemporaries. An edition of the *Cena Trimalchionis* with facing translation was published in Dublin and London in 1905 by M. J. ("Petronius") Ryan. A passage of the *Satyricon* inspired a well-known poem by Tom Kettle, a contemporary and acquaintance of Joyce at University College. Joyce's close friend, Oliver Gogarty, addressed a poem to the Arbiter of Elegance.¹⁰ It would not be strange if an author who could influence writers as far apart as Cervantes and Scott Fitzgerald¹¹ should have influenced also one who professed that his whole esteem was for the classical temper in art.¹²

² When he was beginning to be most fully appreciated. K. Bürger, "Der antike Roman vor Petronius," *Hermes* (1892); cf. A. Collignon, *Pétrone en France* (Paris, 1905), p. 135 and especially p. 172 ad fin.

³ Bürger, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

⁴ J. W. Mackail, *Latin Literature* (New York, 1895), p. 185.

⁵ M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (Munich, 1896-1920), II, Part II, p. 132.

⁶ Xavier de Ricard, cited by Collignon, *Pétrone en France*, p. 135.

⁷ Collignon, *op. cit.* p. 134.

⁸ The author of "ce roman réaliste, cette tranche découpée dans le vif de la vie romaine," was, he says, "un observateur perspicace, un délicat analyste, un merveilleux peintre" (pp. 40 ff.).

⁹ "Le Chevalier de Méré," *Portraits littéraires* (1864), III, 107.

¹⁰ *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse* (1936), No. 169.

¹¹ *Philologische Wochenschrift*, LXII (1942), 211-213, and *Classical Journal*, XLV (1950), 307-314 (both cited by Muth, *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft*, Jan. 1956).

¹² Stephen Hero (London, 1950), p. 83. The modernity of spirit in Petronius, noted by so many critics, makes such influences less unlikely than might at first sight appear. Émile Thomas (*Pétrone*, Paris, 1892) said: "plus on étudie Pétrone, plus on remarque combien notre goût présent se rapproche du sien"; and "ce Romain paraît des nôtres." Collignon, *op. cit.*, p. 177, wrote: "Nos conteurs ont retrouvé chez lui quelques-unes de nos plus précieuses qualités . . . Volontiers même, en raison des traits de ressemblance de son esprit avec l'esprit français, notre histoire littéraire se l'annexerait." Professor Peck, editor of Petronius (New York, 1899), said that "to find a fitting parallel for his strangely brilliant

It was a Berlin professor, Elimar Klebs, who first pointed out the relationship of the *Satyricon* to Homer's *Odyssey*, Encolpius pursued by the wrath of Priapus corresponding to Odysseus pursued by the wrath of Poseidon.¹³ After citing some of the overtly expressed comparisons with the *Odyssey*, such as the hiding of Giton under a bed with Odysseus' hiding under the Cyclops' ram and the obscene *anagnorisis ek peripeteias* of Chapter 105 with the recognition of Odysseus by his old nurse, Klebs declares his belief that the subject of Priapus' wrath figured throughout the *Satyricon* as a leitmotif, and not merely in the fragments that have survived. That it should have so featured (consistently rather than in a few haphazard instances) is, he says, an aesthetic necessity. "It was," he goes on, "the epic model, as furnished by the *Odyssey*, that the greatest Roman epic poet followed. It was this, too, that Petronius followed in having his hero pursued 'o'er land and Nereus' waves' by the wrath of Priapus." Quoting Aristotle's *Poetics*, Klebs points out that, when an ancient writer wished to raise the tale of his hero's series of adventures from the merely external unity of person to inner unity of treatment, a method was available to him in the introduction of an offended divinity on whose wrath the story was made to depend. Petronius achieved immediate comic effect by replacing the epic figures with the far-from-heroic company of the *Satyricon*, and the great god, Poseidon, with the ludicrous divinity, Priapus; and it was this theme, taken from the realm of imagination, which, surrounding the scenes of lively realism with a gay band of humor and fancy, transferred the whole from the sphere of vulgar reality to the ideal world of art, and softened much that, as a mere transcript of reality, might have been intolerable. Yet this theme of divine wrath and pursuit¹⁴ does not, any more than in the epic proper, constantly obtrude itself or carry the whole weight of the action.

Bürger,¹⁵ agreeing with Klebs's theory, said that Petronius was "strongly influenced by the *Odyssey* in the design and execution of his

fiction we must pass over the intervening centuries, and find it only in our own century and in the literary art of modern France." Peck classed Petronius with Flaubert and Maupassant. For Renan (*L'Antéchrist*, p. 140), he was "ce Mérimée antique, au ton froid et exquis."

¹³ E. Klebs, "Zur Composition von Petronius Satirae," *Philologus*, n.s., I (1889), 633-635.

¹⁴ As to why Joyce made his protagonist a Jew, "the question Valery Larbaud raised but did not answer" (Levin), nobody, so far as I know, has pointed out that it was probably in order to provide a parallel to the epic theme of divine wrath and pursuit. This seems to be shown by the reference: "Ahasuerus I call him. Cursed by God." *Ulysses* (London, 1947), p. 322 (all references are to this Bodley Head edition). This seems a more probable explanation than that suggested by Fehr (*Die englische Literatur der Gegenwart*, 1930, p. 64) that it was due to Joyce's belief in Bérard's theory of the Phoenician origin of the *Odyssey*. We know from Frank Budgen how minutely careful Joyce was in maintaining the epic parallels.

¹⁵ Bürger, *op. cit.*, p. 346 and note 4.

work"; and that Encolpius, the protagonist of the *Satyricon*, was "an *Odysseus redivivus* transferred to the sphere of reality in the world of the day." The theory was accepted by other leading scholars over the following fifty years,¹⁶ and may reasonably be taken as certain. It was accepted by, above all, Friedländer, "le plus érudit, le plus compétent et le plus consciencieux des éditeurs,"¹⁷ as well as by the high authority of Kroll in the *Realencyklopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa. If it should seem strange that so significant an aspect of the work passed unnoticed for so long, it should be remembered that Petronius lacks the apparatus of criticism from ancient times on which modern study of so many other classics rests. His unsuitability for use in schools and his admission of folk speech into his work caused him to be neglected by ancient grammarians.¹⁸ In modern times, also, the obscenity of the work and its fragmentary condition postponed a proper estimate of it until the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁹

Nevertheless, the fact that this aspect of Petronius' work does not reveal itself to a casual reading raises the question of whether the idea of the *Satyricon* as a sort of travestied *Odyssey* was accessible to Joyce. Leaving out of account the possibility that he had seen the theory in Klebs, its originator, it was easily accessible to him elsewhere. Bury's *Student's Roman Empire*, widely used in schools and colleges, presents the theory (1900 ed., p. 465). It may be found also in the English translation (1900) of Teuffel-Schwabe's *History of Roman Literature*, and in Collignon's *Étude sur Pétrone* (1892), to name only the most obvious and accessible of the sources where Joyce might have seen it.

Joachim's *History of Latin Literature*, translated into English and published in the Temple Primer series in 1904, contains a clear statement of the theory: "The skeleton [of the *Satyricon*] is supplied by a kind of travesty of the *Odyssey*" (p. 124). This little book refers to a feature of Petronius' work which we find also in Joyce, and which is generally recognized as especially characteristic of him: "The art of narrative adapts itself with fine fitness to the peculiarities of each situation and the character of every person portrayed." Joyce's *Ulysses* is also written in a variety of styles, not only the "Oxen of the Sun" chapter, with its imitation of the major English prose styles from Malory to Newman and Carlyle, but throughout the book. The author of the article, "A Clue to Finnegans Wake," in the *Times Literary Supplement*,

¹⁶ In the histories of Latin literature of Teuffel-Schwabe, Schanz-Hosius, Bickel, Norden, Grant; in Collignon's *Étude sur Pétrone* (1892), Enia's *Il Satyricon* (1889), and in the writings of many other scholars. The essay on Petronius in Charles Whibley's *Studies in Frankness* (1910) also implies the theory.

¹⁷ E. Thomas, *Pétrone* (1892), p. viii. Friedländer was the author of the standard commentary on the *Cena* (1891, 1906).

¹⁸ Kroll, Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie*, s.v. "Petronius."

¹⁹ Bürger, *op. cit.*, p. 345.



ment of September 27, 1947, wrote: "One of the most striking stylistic innovations of *Ulysses* was the attempt to equate language with situation more intimately than any novelist had done before." Just such a wide variety of styles was noted in Petronius by the critics of the last century. Émile Thomas, for instance, asks: "Comment parler du style de l'auteur dans un ouvrage où la forme est si variée, si délibérément mêlée qu'on trouverait facilement dans maint épisode des exemples de tous les styles . . . ?"²⁰ He adds: "il suffit d'ouvrir le *Satyricon* pour être frappé, dès les premières pages, de ce fait que, contrairement à la monotonie de tant d'ouvrages du même genre, anciens et modernes, chacun des personnages parle ici le langage qui convient à sa condition." So, too, Collignon,²¹ in his classic work on Petronius, has many references to this feature of the *Satyricon*: "tous les tons et tous les styles" (p. 16); "sa prose où se rencontrent tous les tons, depuis le langage le plus raffiné et le plus voisin de la poésie jusqu'au jargon populaire."

Closely related to this use of a variety of styles to suit the changing situations—as when, in the *Satyricon*, the attempt to defend Encolpius and Giton from Tryphaena and Lichas is treated as a court scene (from the beginning of Chapter 107 to the end, when Lichas drops the *parlamentarischer Ton*),²² is the ubiquitous use of parody. The eminent French scholar, Ernout, writes: "le ton parodique est partout dans le Satiricon . . ."²³ One might think that he is writing about *Ulysses*: "la parodie de situations exploitées à la corde, la critique moqueuse des traditions littéraires les mieux établies, et aussi des clichés habituels aux divers genres: poésie, éloquence ou roman." Very suggestive of Joyce, too, are the sudden changes from straightforward narrative to a mocking use of elevated diction. "Nombreux sont les exemples de ce passage soudain du ton simple au ton oratoire ou poétique," says Collignon.²⁴ "Dans ces scènes de taverne et de mauvais lieu résonne souvent la fanfare de l'épopée." This, again, might be an account of a characteristic, and, to some, puzzling feature of *Ulysses*.²⁵ Examples are numerous throughout the Cyclops chapter.

"Hurry up, Terry boy," says Alf.

Terance O'Ryan heard him and straightway brought him a crystal cup full of the foaming ebon ale which the noble twin brothers Bungiveagh and Bungardilaun brew ever in their divine elevats, cunning as the sons of deathless Leda . . .

Again, Collignon, "une ignoble querelle éclate entre Ascylte et Encolpe au sortir des orgies de Trimalchion. C'est le moment que choisit Pétrone . . .

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 167-169.

²¹ *Étude sur Pétrone, la critique littéraire, l'imitation et la parodie dans le Satyricon* (Paris, 1892).

²² Heinze, *Hermes* (1899), p. 516; so, too, Collignon, *Étude*, pp. 39 ff.

²³ In his introduction to the Budé Petronius.

²⁴ *Étude*, p. 112.

²⁵ E.g., Edmund Wilson, in his brilliant essay on Joyce in *Axel's Castle*.

pour emboucher la trompette héroïque ; le style se gonfle d'une emphase narquoise."²⁶ So, when Bloom escapes on the horsecar from the drunken rage of the Cyclops-Citizen, the style of the Anonymous Narrator ("and the last we saw was the bloody car rounding the corner and the old sheepface on it gesticulating . . .") suddenly gives way to a Biblical elevation : "when lo, there came about them all a great brightness and they beheld the chariot . . ." Here Joyce, like Petronius, "s'amuse à parer de termes nobles et solennels l'exposé des plus vulgaires événements."²⁷

Parody in Petronius is not confined to matters of style but extends to subject matter. The *Satyricon* travesties not only the *Odyssey* in its fundamental scheme, but also, as generally recognized, the Greek novel, or novelette, as it is properly called by Professor Grant.²⁸ In these novels a chaste youth and maiden, puppetlike figures, go through many trials and hazards with their honor and loyalty to each other unimpaired. In the *Satyricon* these themes are, as Kroll said,²⁹ dragged in the mire. The lovers are homosexual, and loyalty is as little in evidence as chastity. Here the "ironically laughing and unengaged author"³⁰ is suggestive of Joyce. The same cynical type-defacing that in Petronius reduced the epic heroes (Encolpius, like Stephen Dedalus, is terrified of dogs)³¹ and transformed the virtuous figures of the novelette into the dissolute rogues of the *Satyricon* is just what we find in *Ulysses* in the Nausicaa episode, with its twofold travesty of the epic and the novelette. Homer's sprightly, modest princess has become a limping, immodest daughter of the people; and language appropriate (in a novelette) to an account of a "theft of harmless love" is used in describing one of the most scabrous episodes in the book. (When working in this section of *Ulysses*, Joyce wrote home for supplies of novelettish literature. The fact that he was apparently unable in this case to draw on the resources of his wonderful memory perhaps suggests that he was here following an established pattern rather than spontaneously ridiculing the girlish novelette, in itself a rather improbable object of his satirical concern.)

The extent to which the spirit of parody and burlesque permeates both the *Satyricon* and *Ulysses* is remarkable. In both works, even passages once taken to be seriously meant are now regarded as parodies. Thus the section of the *Satyricon* containing the famous words, "si bene calculum ponas ubique naufragium est," to which Tom Kettle

²⁶ Collignon, *op. cit.*, pp. 110 f.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Grant, *Roman Literature* (1954), p. 122.

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*

³⁰ Kroll, *loc. cit.*

³¹ *Satyricon*, Chaps. 29, 72; *Ulysses*, p. 42. The same measure of the unheroic appears in the Cyclops chapter in the nervousness of Bloom and others before the big dog with which the "Citizen," like Trimalchio, is furnished.

referred in his poem as "the exquisite Roman's rich despair," is considered by Heinze³² a parody of the *consolatio*. So, too, Collignon writes: "et peut-être après tout, le morceau tout entier, même dans les parties que nous avons supposées sérieuses, n'est-il qu'un contraste cherché et une longue ironie?"³³ Just such a conclusion as this has been drawn about *Ulysses* in an excellent study by J. Baake.³⁴ He shows that, however serious the subject which Joyce treats, even such a poignant theme as Stephen's guilt complex about his mother's death, it is finally made the object of mockery.³⁵ So, too, the long-pursued, seemingly serious father-son theme, is made to end in grotesque and ribald anticlimax.³⁶ "The caricature of all things is the final answer of *Ulysses* to the question of their worth."³⁷ Very similar was the conclusion drawn from the *Satyricon* by R. Pichon: "tout ce que la philosophie a pu inventer pour le relèvement ou la consolation de la misérable humanité trouve ici sa dérisión."³⁸

If, then, *Ulysses* approximates the *Satyricon* not only in being a travestied *Odyssey*, but in the variety of styles in which it is written and in a spirit of parody and burlesque so comprehensive as not to spare from mockery even the most traditionally sacred sentiments, there seems to be good reason for the suggestion of Petronian influence.

There is at least one open allusion in *Ulysses*³⁹ to an episode in the *Satyricon*, the story of the faithless Widow of Ephesus—an allusion anticipated, according to the Joycean way clearly shown by Baake,⁴⁰ in the reference (graveyard scene, p. 100) to the prospectively faithless widow. Joyce's acquaintance with, if not special interest in, the *Satyricon* is shown by the appearance in *Finnegans Wake* of "characters out of Petronius' Rome."⁴¹ Apart from the Ephesian matron, there are other apparent reminiscences of Petronius in *Ulysses*. An audience's attitude to an acrobat is described: "break your neck and we'll break our sides"; "cuis cervices fractas lebenter vidissent."⁴² "We know what put English gold in his pocket" recalls "iam scio unde accepereit denarios, mille

³² *Loc. cit.*

³³ *Étude*, p. 59; cf. E. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

³⁴ *Das Riesenscherzbuch Ulysses* (Bonn, 1937).

³⁵ See especially p. 71.

³⁶ Pp. 65, 66.

³⁷ Page 95. Cf. J. Eglinton, *Irish Literary Portraits* (London, 1935), p. 146.

³⁸ *Histoire de la littérature latine* (Paris, 1897), p. 570; cf. Baake, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

³⁹ Page 390.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 26: "Ob es sich um Ereignisse, oder Gedanken, oder einzelne Worte handelt: nach Verlauf einer bestimmten Zeit erscheint alles wieder an der Oberfläche des Ulysses. Ob Shakespeareworte oder ein verlorengegangener Hoskenknopf—alle Themen, alle Ereignisse gleiten von Zeit zu Zeit wieder über die Bühne des Ulysses, bald in unverändertem Gewande, bald in einer neuen Aufmachung . . ." See also p. 27.

⁴¹ Arland Ussher, *Three Great Irishmen* (London, 1952), p. 142.

⁴² *Ul.*, p. 57; *Sat.*, Chap. 54.

aureos,"⁴³ in a similar piece of tubthumping ("Kennegiesserei," Kroll) in the *Satyricon*. The reference in the surrealist scene to the twelve signs of the zodiac on the crayfish suggests the twelve signs of the zodiac on the tray in the *Cena*.⁴⁴

It may be that the name Daedalus (so called in *Stephen Hero*) was suggested by a passage in the *Satyricon*: "non potest esse pretiosior homo . . . et ideo ingenio meo impositum est illi nomen bellissimum; nam Daedalus vocatur."⁴⁵ Professor Curtius' remark that "throughout the work of Joyce, as throughout Eliot's 'Waste Land,' there runs the motif of the Drowned Man"⁴⁶ reminds us that it was the sight of the drowned man, Lichas, in the *Satyricon* that was the occasion for the famous "si bene calculum ponas ubique naufragium est," words that gave rise to Tom Kettle's poem arguing:

Not the sea only wrecks the hopes of men:
Look deeper, there is shipwreck everywhere.⁴⁷

In both books student types who have been living together quarrel and separate. In both there is a night encounter with the military. The mocking use to which Petronius put the theme of a museum visit taken from the Greek novelette⁴⁸ appears, too, in *Ulysses*, when Bloom in pursuance of a perverse preoccupation visits the Museum,⁴⁹ where Mulligan comes across him engaged in a characteristic piece of "research." A mock court scene occurs in each book.⁵⁰ Petronius, like Joyce, had a parallel to the epic Hades. The underworld was represented by the dog Cerberus—in the person of a loud-mouthed lawyer.⁵¹ This is strikingly like the spirit in which Joyce made a newspaper office correspond to the epic Cave of the Winds. Bloom's passing himself off as "cousin of von Bloom Pasha. Umpteen millions. Donnerwetter! Owns half Austria. Egypt" recalls the way in which, in the *Satyricon*, the starveling Eumolpus is passed off as one who owns vast wealth in Africa and has a force of slaves capable at need of taking the city of Carthage.⁵² The drought references in *Ulysses*, "a bargeman saying the seed won't sprout, fields athirst . . . All the world saying . . . the big wind . . . a small thing beside this barrenness," recall the complaints of the countryman in *Cena*: "et quomodo siccitas perseverat! iam annum esuritio fuit

⁴³ *Ul.*, p. 302; *Sat.*, Chap. 44.

⁴⁴ *Ul.*, p. 484; *Sat.*, Chap. 35.

⁴⁵ Chap. 70.

⁴⁶ James Joyce und sein *Ulysses* (Zürich, 1929), p. 34.

⁴⁷ I have to thank Dr. P. de Brun for this reference.

⁴⁸ Collignon, *Étude*, pp. 34-37; von Fleschenberg, *Philologus* (1913), pp. 87-88.

⁴⁹ *Ul.*, pp. 165, 171, 189.

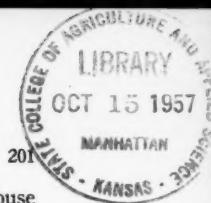
⁵⁰ *Sat.*, Chap. 707; *Ul.*, p. 438.

⁵¹ According to E. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 161: "Cerbère était représenté sous la forme d'un avocat braillard, aux éclats de voix insupportables"; *Satyricon*, fragment vii.

⁵² *Ul.*, p. 434; *Sat.*, Chap. 117.

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... agri jacent."⁵³ So, too, the talk in the *Cena* and in the public-house interlude in *Ulysses*, besides some similarity of subject matter—a funeral, prize fighters, politics, horse racing and betting, marital infidelity—shows the same wonderful mastery of folk speech; in this Petronius' achievement, "with its astonishing sureness of touch," is unique in ancient literature.⁵⁴ The proverbs and quaint turns of speech of the people⁵⁵ and their distaste for "ologies" and intellectuality are found in both books, as well as that snobbery and scorn of humble origins in which the low are unsurpassed.

Joyce, as we know from the famous passage in the *Portrait* on the artist's "nail-paring" detachment, would be naturally drawn to one "of serene aloofness of temperament"⁵⁶ who, "the most impersonal of authors," seemed, as Collignon says, to have practiced the principle later enunciated by Flaubert that the artist "doit s'arranger de façon à faire croire à la postérité qu'il n'a pas vécu."⁵⁷ The remarkable detachment which these two authors have in common has given rise, in the case of both Petronius and Joyce, to the most opposing estimates of the general intention of their works. Burman, the leading commentator on the *Satyricon*, could call Petronius a "sanctissimus homo"; and many others have thought his work was meant to lash the follies and aberrations of the time.⁵⁸ Nobody believes this today; the *Satyricon* is seen as a humorous novel quite uncerned with the censorship of morals. *Ulysses*, too, has been called "the *chef d'œuvre* of a twentieth-century Tertullian." T. S. Eliot's exalted notion of Joyce's moral tendency has been echoed abroad.⁵⁹ This point of view seems no more likely to maintain itself than the corresponding view about Petronius. *Ulysses* seems clearly informed by the "ironisch-blasierte Weltanschauung" noted in the *Satyricon*.⁶⁰ Significantly, for instance, a dissolute Jew showing a charitable spirit all too little in evidence among his Christian fellow citizens.⁶¹ Just because of the nihilism of *Ulysses* and the absence in it

⁵³ *Ul.*, p. 379; *Sat.*, Chap. 44.

⁵⁴ Kroll, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁵ The great importance of the *Satyricon* as a source of Vulgar Latin is reason in itself for a special interest in it on the part of Joyce as an advanced student of Romance (he was offered an assistant professorship in Dublin, according to his brother). *Recollections of James Joyce* (New York, 1950), p. 9. For Joyce's abiding interest in the early development of the Romance languages see Mary Colum, *Life and the Dream* (1947), pp. 94, 392.

⁵⁶ Charles Whibley, *op. cit.*

⁵⁷ *Étude*, p. 52.

⁵⁸ Studer, *Rheinisches Museum*, II, 51. This curious point of view was usual in the Middle Ages; Collignon, *Étude*.

⁵⁹ Hans Egon Holthusen, *Der unbehauste Mensch* (Munich, 1951), p. 27:

⁶⁰ Klebs, *Philologus* (1889), p. 628.

⁶¹ I have no doubt that the heavy underlining of Bloom's loving kindness has this ironic significance. In the case of Mrs. Bloom, also, it is clearly with ironical intent that one showing the blandest impenitence in vice is made to express indignation with unbelievers ("as for them saying theres no God I wouldnt give a

of any sense of the divine in life, E. R. Curtius, the finest scholar who has devoted a book to *Ulysses*, found himself unable to accord Joyce the title of genius. Levin's remark that the *vis comica* was his natural bent seems nearest the truth about Joyce.

A preoccupation with aesthetic questions combined with an indifference to morals and religion is common to both authors. Joyce's "tolerant indifference to any but aesthetic problems"⁶² is like Petronius' "indifference to any but stylistic reforms."⁶³ The insertion into the *Satyricon* of "lively didactic discourses"⁶⁴ calls to mind the similar insertion of the Hamlet lecture in *Ulysses*.

"Il est peu d'œuvres dont l'idée religieuse soit aussi complètement absente."⁶⁵ In this, Petronius shows another similarity to Joyce. Both authors shared the notion that religion originated in the fear of thunder⁶⁶—a certainly interesting coincidence. We know that there is parody of the Gospel narrative of the Passion and of Christian ritual in *Ulysses*.⁶⁷ Whether it is true or not that the *Satyricon* contains similar mockery of Christianity, it is certain that in Joyce's time very respectable authorities believed that it did. Cocchia (*Nuova Antologia*, 1893) and Sogliano (*Archivio Storico*, 1894) both looked on Chapter 112 of the *Satyricon* as "una spiegazione naturale della risurrezione del Cristo," and on the proposed eating of the divided body in Chapter 141 as an allusion to the Gospel words (John 6:53): "nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis." Ribbeck (*Geschichte der römischen Poesie*, III, 1892, 164) also saw these references as "eine Verhöhnung des christlichen Abendmahls."⁶⁸

Joyce was, no doubt, one of the most scholarly of novelists, with a mind in the condition described by Petronius as indispensable for creation, "ingenti flumine litterarum inundata." His culture was drawn from all the literatures of the world,⁶⁹ and his sources are certainly numerous. But the coincidence in his work and that of Petronius of a travestied *Odyssey* providing the basis of a realistic novel, in which the

snap of my two fingers for all their learning . . . atheists or whatever they call themselves, etc."). For the probable origin of the idea of Mrs. Bloom, see *Stephen Hero*, p. 139.

⁶² Stuart Gilbert, *James Joyce's Ulysses* (New York, 1930), p. 98.

⁶³ Heseltine, Loeb Library Petronius, Introd., p. ix.

⁶⁴ Kroll, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁵ Collignon, *Étude*, p. 44; and "ce répertoire du scepticisme et d'irréligion"; *ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶⁶ Loeb Library Petronius, p. 342, fragment 3; *Ul.*, pp. 32, 377. Cf. Levin, *James Joyce*, p. 104.

⁶⁷ See, e.g., Kristian Smith, "James Joyce and the Cultic Use of Fiction," *Oslo Studies in English*, No. 4 (1955).

⁶⁸ Cocchia, Sogliano, and Ribbeck are cited by Friedländer, *Cena Trimalchionis*; cf. Collignon, *Pétrone en France*, p. 160.

⁶⁹ Curtius, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

world of low life is ironically viewed through the eyes of one academically trained, aesthetically preoccupied, religiously and morally indifferent, combining an aristocratic disdain for that world with a surprisingly close acquaintance with it,⁷⁰ and emphasizing its vulgarities by describing them in language taken from the nobler world of epic and the novel—a realistic novel, furthermore, in which the style is accommodated to the varying circumstances described, and in which space is found for critical discourses and strictly irrelevant displays of literary virtuosity—the coincidence of these things in Joyce and Petronius strongly suggests that, to the many recognized sources⁷¹ ranging from Homer to the forerunners of surrealism which have influenced Joyce, there should be added as not the least influential the “exquisite Roman” of the days of Nero.

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⁷⁰ Norden, *Die römische Literatur* (1952), p. 89: “von spöttischer Verachtung aller Banalität mit intimen Kenntnis dessen was er verachtete.” Similar is Joyce’s ironical treatment of the countless vulgar trivialities of which he was so observant; see Frank Swinnerton in *The Georgian Literary Scene* (1935) on this aspect of Joyce; John Eglinton’s words cited by Gorman, *James Joyce* (1926), p. 298; and see *Stephen Hero*, p. 129.

⁷¹ There are doubtless some generally unrecognized sources. Parallels in Joyce to Aristophanes have been shown in some interesting pages of Professor Weinreich’s *Einführung zu Aristophanes* (1953), II, 99 ff.

FROM EVERYMAN AND ELCKERLIJC TO HOFMANNSTHAL AND KAFKA

HELEN ADOLF

FROM its first appearance on the late mediaeval stage, *Everyman* had the tendency to attract and to assimilate new motifs and to alter their meaning; for allegory, seemingly but a faithful ancilla of thought, tends to develop an independent life of its own. Thus *Everyman*, after having served religious tenets of the pre-Reformation and Reformation eras, survived into our times and is as poignant now, in this waxing atomic age, as it was in the waning Middle Ages. For the comparatist, it seems a worthwhile task to retrace the history of some of the motifs involved in the play. Not only will this disclose part of man's "perennial" psychology; it may even heighten aesthetic enjoyment by permitting a clearer distinction between the spontaneous and the conventional.

In the last decade, much excellent work in this field was done by Flemish and Dutch scholars.¹ Their primary objective, it is true, was to settle the vexed question of priority: Is *Elckerlijc* or *Everyman* to be considered the *fons et origo*? The evidence is not yet entirely conclusive; but Van Mierlo, the champion for *Elckerlijc*, has won greater acclaim from his countrymen.² Both sides have contributed greatly to our understanding of the two plays, which emerge more clearly defined from the searching analysis of their linguistic problems, literary backgrounds, and theological implications.

Perhaps the history of art can now take us a step further. We might compare *Elckerlijc* with the contemporary art of Hieronymus Bosch, and *Everyman* with the less earthly, less flamboyant English Gothic. Among the paintings of Bosch, we should give special attention to the card table of the "Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things," which includes a death scene inspired by the etchings of the *Ars moriendi*,³ and still more to his "Death of the Miser" (in a private collection, now in New York).⁴ Here Mammon's chest is filled with coins, as in *Every-*

¹ J. Van Mierlo, S.J., *Elckerlijc. Nieuwe Bijdragen met geemendeerde uitgave* (Kon. Vlaamse Ac. voor Taal-en Letterkunde, Reeks III, No. 29, 1949); H. De Vocht, *Everyman: A Comparative Study (Materials for the Study of the Old English Drama*, n.s., No. 20, 1947).

² See J. J. Mak, "Elckerlijc en Everyman," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal-en Letterkunde*, LXVII (1950), 24-40.

³ See L. v. Baldass, *Hieronymus Bosch* (1945), pp. 18 ff. On the "Ars moriendi" in literature and art, see R. Rudolf, Thomas Peuntner's "Kunst des heilsamen Sterbens" (*Texte des späten Mittelalters*, Heft 2, 1956) pp. 73 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 236; C. de Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch* (1937), pp. 27, 90; J. Leymarie, *Jérôme Bosch* (1949).

man, not with mildewed goods, as in *Elckerlijc* (lines 359 ff.). Did the Flemish author change on purpose, so as to have his sinner less steeped in avarice?

But leaving such questions for future consideration, we shall first consider two well-defined motifs: (1) the role of the so-called four abstractions (Strength, Dyscretion, Beauty, and Fyve Wits), and (2) the differing nomenclature in the two plays—one and the same figure is called Good Dedes in the *Everyman*, but Duecht (Virtue) in the *Elckerlijc*. Little has been said about these four allegorical* characters called in by Good Dedes and Knowledge as helpers for Everyman. Only G. Kazemier discusses them, primarily from a philosophic viewpoint, since he is interested chiefly in a distinction between Kennisse and Vroetscap.⁵ Convinced that these helpers were meant to symbolize the vivifying effect of the Sacrament of Penance,⁶ scholars have not been concerned with the ambiguous role that they assume in the play as a whole. Since Everyman had postponed penance until it was almost too late, these new companions of his pilgrimage could do little more for him than assist him in making his will. For in front of the grave these four will turn out to be unreliable friends, like those other three (Fellowship, Kindred, and Goods) who evolved from the original parable of "Man's Three Friends." The four abstractions thereby reveal their affiliation with the *Ars moriendi*, where reliance on one's own strength or beauty is one of the many temptations that beset the dying.⁷ They may be derived from the *Pride of Life* play, where Fortitudo and Sanitas are the soldiery of the Rex vivens;⁸ for in *Everyman*, lines 903 ff., the "Doctour" explicitly warns the audience: "... and forsake *pryde*, for he deceiveth you in the ende, And remember Beaute, Fyvve-Wittes, Strength and Dyscretion They all at the last do Everyman forsake, Save his Good-dedes."

Why then were those Janus-faced figures introduced into the *Everyman* play? Was it merely to make the performance longer (a good reason, as any producer will readily admit)? And was this lengthening, this retardation, also meant to serve aesthetic purposes—as an architect might lengthen the nave or interpose a second transept, for more grandeur, more suspense? At any rate, no complete integration is achieved between the three "types" of false friends from the outside and the four "abstractions" or inner properties. At no place are all of them listed to-

⁵ "Elckerlijc, Het Dal Sonder Wederkeeren, en de Mystiek," *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, XXXIV (1940), 87-96, 116-128.

⁶ Van Mierlo, *op. cit.*, p. 97; De Vocht, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.

⁷ Cf. "Wärst als schön als Absalom und als stark als Samson . . ." in the *Büchlein vom sterbenden Menschen*, printed in F. Falk, *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein* (1890), p. 79. The "Valley without Return" referred to by G. Kazemier, may be dependent on the same source.

⁸ See W. Stammel, *Von der Mystik zum Barock* (1950), pp. 295 ff., on a "Dialogue between Life and Death" in Low German literature.

gether, although they might well have been in lines 16 ff., where the Prologue denounces fleeting pleasures in a general way, or in lines 913 ff. of the Epilogue, which deal with the four abstractions only, or in lines 868 ff., which come nearest to being a summary, but still omit Fyve-Wittes and Goods. In view of all this, we are tempted to conjecture that there were, perhaps, originally two sets of allegories available for the central part of the *Everyman* play—the one concerning Good Deeds rising from her sickbed, the other concerning Virtue calling upon her companions. Both had to do with penance, but not necessarily *in articulo mortis*; not until they were inserted into the "Summoning of Everyman" did those companions of Virtue assume the features characteristic of the deathbed scenes of the *Ars moriendi*.

Whatever the name of the invalid—Good Deeds or Virtue—who throws away her crutches after Everyman has confessed, prayed, and scourged himself, it is clear that we are dealing here with an allegory of the Sacrament of Penance (*Contritio, Confessio, Satisfactio*).⁹ This important element of doctrine—perhaps the most important for the sinner!—had to be inculcated continually in the minds of the people, and for this purpose church literature used a variety of expressive allegories (only the hermit scene in the *Perceval* and *Parzival* rises to the heights of a purely realistic and psychological presentation). Other allegories of this theme occur in such works as Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la Vie humaine* (translated into many languages, into English by Lydgate), and the Middle High German poem *Der Seele Rat*.¹⁰ According to the aspect to be stressed, Penance hits with the dart of repentance, or comes with a broom, or leads to a cleansing river (hence *Everyman*, line 530). The bestowing of a white garment on the penitent belongs in the same context.¹¹ In all these cases, allegory must be taken literally, without further interference of metaphor. What we see, then, in the *Everyman* play is not so much "the rebirth of the sinner into the life of Grace," as the Duecht allegory has been interpreted,¹² but the rehabilitation of Good Deedes, who, after having been incapacitated by the state of sin, becomes active, i.e., meritorious, again through the Sacrament of Penance.¹³ The parallelism is too perfect to be due to a

⁹ De Vocht, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 ff.; Van Mierlo, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 ff.

¹⁰ Heinrich von Burgus, *Der Seele Rat*, ed H. F. Rosenfeld (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, XXXVII, 1932); cf. G. Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im Mittelalter*, Schlussband (1935), pp. 601 f.

¹¹ The term "garment of sorrow" (*Ev.*, 643 ff.) is due to confusion with the hair shirt worn by penitents. In Hofmannsthal's *Jedermann* and in A. Sassen's adaptation of the *Homulus* (1937), Everyman is given the white garment of purification. P. Thusybaert's Chacun (in his version of the *Elckerlijc*, 1927) wears a "manteau brun doublé de blanc," a white one only when he reaches Heaven.

¹² J. J. Mak's summary (*loc. cit.*, p. 30) of Van Mierlo's interpretation.

¹³ De Vocht, *loc. cit.*, pp. 53 ff.



chance substitution of a later term, Good Deeds, for the original name, Virtue. This particular allegory, which became the turning point of the Everyman parable and an inspiration to poets, arose from the name and concept of "Good Deeds."

Then what of the figure called Virtue? We must keep in mind that both names might have been derived from the fifth apologue of the *Barlaam and Josaphat* novel, which underlies the *Everyman* play as its main theme;¹⁴ for there the only reliable friend is called not only Good Deeds, but also man's individual virtues. We must further consider that Virtue, as an allegorical figure opposing Voluptas, had a long standing in Stoic philosophy, and that it appeared coupled with either Scientia (Lactantius),¹⁵ Conscientia (St. Bernard),¹⁶ or Reason (De guilevile) whenever an analysis of human perfection was attempted. This would explain Duecht's (Virtue's) call for her sister Kennisse (Knowledge), a figure, or name, which itself gave rise to many conflicting interpretations.¹⁷

If we now turn to the most famous adaptation of *Everyman* in German, H. von Hofmannsthal's *Jedermann* (1911), we shall expect changes. For one thing, the poet also used Hans Sachs' translation of the Latin *Hekastus* by Macropedius (in addition to some hints he may have found about other versions).¹⁸ Like these bourgeois predecessors, but in a more aristocratic vein, he provides his protagonist with more human relations and preoccupations (the banquet!); thus enriching the plot, he can do without the help of the four abstractions. Moreover, since he wanted his play to be "a human fairy tale in a Christian garb,"¹⁹ he had to avoid denominational commitments. Yet, on the whole, he felt like a watchmaker cleansing and repairing a fine old timepiece²⁰—as if he were not changing, but restoring.²¹ Perhaps it would be equally

¹⁴ K. Goedeke, *Everyman, Homulus und Hekastus. Ein Beitrag zur internationalen Literaturgeschichte* (1865); J. Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1896), pp. xciii ff. Cf. also the Preface by E. A. Wallis Budge to his edition of the Ethiopic *Baralām and Yēwāsēf* (1923), and the articles on Barlaam and Josaphat in Brockhaus (1932) and in the *Enc. Ital.*

¹⁵ *Divin. Instit.*, liber VI, cap. V; see Migne, *PL*, VI, col. 649-51.

¹⁶ "Verae . . . divitiae non opes sunt, sed virtutes, quas secum conscientia portat, ut in perpetuum dives fiat . . ." *De Adventu Domini Sermo IV*; see Migne, *PL*, CLXXXIII, col. 47-48. "Conscientia" is at times interpreted as "cordis scientia"; see Petrus Cellensis, *Liber de Conscientia* in Migne, *PL*, CCII, col. 1090B.

¹⁷ Cognitio (Ischyrios), Belijdenis (J. van Gennep), Bekenntnis (Goedeke), Contritio (F. A. Wood, *MP*, VIII, 1910, 283).

¹⁸ H. Lindner, *H. v. H.'s Jedermann und seine Vorgänger* (Leipzig, 1928); W. Brecht, "Die Vorläufer von H. 's Jedermann," *Österr. Rundschau*, XX (1924), 271-287.

¹⁹ H. v. Hofmannsthal, *Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben, Prosa*, III (1952), 64 ("Das Spiel vor der Menge," 1911).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 353 ("Aufzeichnungen zu Reden in Skandinavien," 1916).

²¹ H. v. Hofmannsthal and Eberhard v. Bodenhausen, *Briefe der Freundschaft, 1897-1919* (1953), p. 138.

accurate to say that he was attempting a bold synthesis, summoning the forces of humanism and religion for the soul's fight against Mammon.²² But what becomes of the fine clockwork of mediaeval allegory?

From the English morality play, Hofmannsthal took the closely knit sequence of figures and events which we have called the Sacrament of Penance group (*Contritio, Confessio, Satisfactio*), whereby a monk, as in the pictures of the *Ars moriendi*,²³ was entrusted with the parts of both "Confessyon" and "Priesthood." This group he combined with the most appealing of "Protestant" traits, by having *Glaube* replace *Knowledge*—for this *Fides* can only be understood in the light of Luther's ideas, although Macropedius, who created the character, was still a member of the old church. As a result, Hofmannsthal seems to have reconciled "Werke" (works) and "Glaube" (faith), Catholicism and Reformation; but, if we look more closely, some fine cracks or fissures become visible in the structure.

How far was Hofmannsthal aware of the original meaning of the allegory concerning the revival of *Werke*? One should not underestimate the power of a poet's intuition; he may see at one glance what scholars arrive at through laborious research. Indeed Hofmannsthal comes surprisingly close to the core of the problem when he says about *Werke*, in his own discussion of the *Jedermann* drama: "All sein Übeltun hat sich auf sie geschlagen."²⁴ But in the play itself *Jedermann* is accused of negligence ("Auf mir liegt viel Gebrest und Last, Indem du mein gedacht nit hast"), which are in essence the words used by *Virtus* against *Hekastus* ("quod tu hactenus Aliique cultum iure nobis debitum Neglexeritis";²⁵ in the Hans Sachs version: "In deim reich-thumb wurdet ich veracht.") *Werke* throws away her crutches after *Jedermann*, his faith in Christ restored, has turned to God in prayer, and before he walks up to the place where the monk is supposed to "wash off" his sins. The sacraments he receives there must therefore

²² "Im Mittelpunkt bleibt die Allegorie des Dieners Mammon," *Das alte Spiel von Jedermann* (Berlin, 1912), p. 7. It was Balzac who revealed to Hofmannsthal the demonic character of gold (*Prosa*, III, 356).

²³ F. Falk, *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein* (1880), *passim*. Brecht, *loc. cit.*, p. 282, points to the "fromme Waldbruder" in the *Homulus* by Ischyrios.

²⁴ *Das alte Spiel von Jedermann*, p. 130. This essay is of philological interest for still another passage. Whereas in the play *Jedermann* returns from the monk carrying a staff (*Pilgerstab*), the prose reads "Kreuzstab," which is one way of reconciling the readings of *Everyman* (rodde, line 777), *Elckerlijc* (roeyken, line 759, meaning "virga"), and Ischyrios (crucem, a "Sterbekreuz"). Hofmannsthal may have known that a cross was used at the performance of the English *Everyman* in 1901. The staff seems preferable in view of *Jedermann*'s impending pilgrimage and because of Ps. 23:4: "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for Thou art with me: Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me." See also De Vocht, *loc. cit.*, pp. 158 ff., Van Mierlo, *loc. cit.*, pp. 87 ff., Mak, *loc. cit.*, p. 32.

²⁵ Act IV, Scene III. See J. Bolte, *Drei Schauspiele vom sterbenden Menschen* (Bibl. des Literar. Vereins Stuttgart, No. 269-270, 1927), p. 116, lines 1052-54.

be not only Eucharist and Extreme Unction, as in the Priesthood scene of the older plays, but also Penance, which in the moralities was taken care of by the "holy man Confessyon." At any rate, Jedermann's reconciliation with God had been achieved before, as we see from the change in Werke, as we hear through the testimony of Jedermann's perceptive mother: "Ich spür, zu dieser nächtigen Stund Ist seine Seele worden gesund." The sacrament then increases the strength of an already rehabilitated Good Deeds ("des fühl ich an meinen Gliedern all Die Kraft zu einem hohen Flug"). Tradition has been respected, without having become entirely transparent.

Something similar happens to the figure of Glaube. She steps down from on high and catechizes Jedermann, using the same words which in the Macropedius version were pronounced by the minister Hieronymus. As spectators, we may easily dispense with the figure of the clergyman; but "Fides ab auditu, et auditus a verbo domini" (Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God), said the reformers in line with Rom. 10:17; and indeed it is not likely that a dying sinner would receive the living faith, *fides vera et vivida*, without any help from the outside (unless it be a miracle, wrought, as in this case, by maternal prayers). Also the role of Fides has been much curtailed in the process of adaptation. No longer is she needed to fight the terrible fight against Devil and Death, through which Luther and his disciples strove to appropriate to themselves Christ's victory over Death.²⁶ (The little devil whom Glaube and Werke have to ward off later is a ludicrous, not a dangerous character, connected, as it seems, with another Catholic version, the *Homulus*.)²⁷

We feel as if we were facing a modern cathedral in Gothic style. There are ogives and buttresses, but they are of decorative, not of functional, value. The Viennese may be reminded of the beautifully modern Adolf Loos-Haus on the Michaelerplatz, which dates from the same period as the *Jedermann*; it has a façade of marble pillars, slightly off center in relation to the windowed wall above them, which they adorn, but do not carry.

What then constitutes the real structure of the *Jedermann*? It has become customary to answer: salvation through repentance ("Ja solches wirkt die tiefe Reu," says Glaube). But "Reue," important as it is, is only part of the process, which might be described as "Einkehr," "Umkehr," con-version, intro-version. For this is the pivot of the play, a truly Biblical concept (Hebr. *shub*, "to return"—the noun form, *teshubah*, is post-Biblical). The "turning" or "returning" is more indicative of the psychological happening than either "repentance" or

²⁶ W. Rehm, *Der Todesgedanke in der deutschen Dichtung vom Mittelalter bis zur Romantik* (1928), pp. 140 ff.

²⁷ H. Lindner, *loc. cit.*, p. 101, note.

"metanoia" (a term used by Macropedius in his second preface: "meta-noia seu detestatio peccati"). This is borne out by the words of Jedermann's mother—this earthly mother who replaces, in Hofmannsthal's play, the Heavenly one. Grave and pious, like Albrecht Dürer's old lady, using phrases naively shaped by that painter and poet,²⁸ she strives to reinstate in the universal system of love the son who has become a slave of Mammon. She exhorts him to "turn," to "return" to God, to "go into himself and contemplate his God" (in truly Biblical fashion, she uses the verb form only, whereas her son glibly retorts with the more conventional noun form, "Einkehr"). Her advice conforms perfectly with *De Spiritu et Anima*, in which Augustine analyzes the steps of introspection by means of meditation: first, *Scientia sive Cognitio* (the Knowledge and Kennisse, respectively, of *Everyman* and of *Elckerlijc*), then *Compunctio*, *Devotio*, and, issuing from them, *Oratio* and *Affectus*:

Scientia sui alii praeponenda... Scientia est quando homo ad cognitionem sui assidua meditatione illuminatur. Compunctio est quando ex consideratione maiorum suorum cor interno dolore tangitur. Devotio est pius et humilis affectus in Deum: humilis ex conscientia infirmatatis propriae, pius ex consideratione divinae clementiae. Oratio est mentis devotio, id est, conversio in Deum per pium et humilem affectum. Affectus est spontanea quaedam ac dulcis ipsius animi ad Deum inclinatio. Nihil enim ita Deum inclinat ad pietatem et misericordiam quemadmodum purus mentis affectus.²⁹

All this forms an accurate account of what happens to Jedermann, that great extravert who could never be alone but who eventually, after the world has abandoned him, turns to his own neglected self. (The "Reue" motif fits in here as an elaboration of *Compunctio*: the cauterizing of Sin, the cleansing of the mirror—"mens hominis speculum,

²⁸ At various places in his dissertation, Lindner states that a "prayer" by Dürer has been worked into the speech of Jedermann's mother (pp. 7, 72, 110). He is merely repeating a statement made by Hofmannsthal himself (in the "Nachwort" to the first S. Fischer edition). However, the poet's memory must have slipped on this point, for a look at Dürer's poetical works informs us that the borrowing is from a lengthy poem, "Der Landsknecht und der Tod," written in 1510 to accompany a woodcut. Compare Dürer's words: "Darum welcher recht leben thut, Der überkommt ein starken Mut Und ihn erfreut des Todes Stund Dorin ihm Seligkeit wird kund," with those of Hofmannsthal: "Wer recht in seinem Leben tut, Den überkommt ein starker Mut, Und ihn erfreut des Todes Stund, Darin ihm Seligkeit wird kund." In addition, we may assume that Hofmannsthal was impressed by the famous portrait of Dürer's mother, and by the words of the *Gedenkbuch*: "Ihr meinsten Gebrauch was viel in der Kirchen und strofet mich allweg fleissig, wo ich nit wol handlet. Und sie hätt allweg meing und meiner Brüder gross Sorg vor Sünden... grosse Sorg für unser Seel..." K. Lange and F. L. Fuhse, *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlaß* (1893), pp. 12, 73 ff.

²⁹ Migne, *PL*, XL, col. 816. In the following chapters, Augustine distinguishes three levels of cognition: "mentis dilatatio [=contemptus mundi], mentis sublevatio [=contemptus nostri], and mentis alienatio [=cognitio et amor Dei]." Cf. G. Kazemier, *loc. cit.*, p. 127, on Elckerlijc's attaining the second level only.

sed peccato obscuratum"; "Glaube" then is needed to save the sinner from too much contrition, from despairing of God's mercy.)

While the development of these ideas in the *Jedermann* play is peculiar to Hofmannsthal, it must be stressed that their seed is already to be found in the old morality play. It is true that purification and illumination were usually conceived as preparation for the "spiritual marriage," as one can see from the beautiful allegory, *Filia Syon*, in the Middle High German version by Lamprecht von Regensburg,³⁰ but these steps of the soul toward perfection could easily be transferred to that other "union with the divine" which may occur when the soul leaves the body. G. Kazemier believed that the author of *Elckerlyc* knew Ruysbroek;³¹ one might add that Peter Dorlandus, who has been credited with the authorship of that Flemish play, not only wrote a dialogue *De vera amicitia*, but also one *De cognitione sui*.³²

We have called Werke "Jedermann's own neglected self." Indeed, as in the Barlaam and Josaphat parable, as in the Iranian myth that probably underlies that parable (Man meeting his own Daēna, or Self, on the Cinvat Bridge),³³ she is more than her present name indicates; she was called originally man's religion, his conscience, his virtues, his alms. What is it that Jedermann beholds when Werke, in her debilitated state, turns to him her glance of ineffable beauty? He sees Deum et animam—according to Augustine, that great teacher of introversion—the only two objects worth knowing; he sees his soul as the divine likeness, his soul as it might have developed, had he not turned away. This image, moreover, presents certain individual features.

Since the subtitle of the play reads "The Dying of the Rich Man," since Death, in the introductory scene, threatens with damnation the rich man who has not practiced charity, it stands to reason that Jedermann should be taught by Werke the true nature of "charity" (although this is not done in any other Everyman version). But such a general instruction was not the poet's only purpose; he was also concerned, as a mystic should be, with Jedermann as an individual person. Here we venture the following assumption: If Jedermann, at the end of the play, had been allowed to live on (this is not an entirely gratuitous assumption, since such is the dénouement in L. Culman's play about the "con-

³⁰ Lamprecht von Regensburg, *Sanct Francisken Leben und Tochter Syon*, ed. K. Weinhold (1880).

³¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 116 ff.

³² See L. Willems, *Elckerlyc-Studien* (1934), pp. 13, 18; R. W. Zandvoort, "Elckerlyc-Everyman," *English Studies*, XXIII (1941), 9.

³³ On the myth itself, see J. D. C. Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, 2nd ed. (1929). On its possible connection with the Everyman parable, see E. Kuhn, "Barlaam und Joasaph. Eine bibliographisch-literargeschichtliche Studie," *Abh. d. Bayr. Akad. der Wiss., philos.-philol. Kl.*, XX (1897), 78; *Der Seele Rat*, ed. Rosenfeld, pp. xxxii ff.; G. Takahashi, *A Study of Everyman with Special Reference to the Source of its Plot* (1953), pp. 17 f.

verted sinner"), he might *not* have chosen the road of holy matrimony, in spite of the promise made to his mother. Different from Hofmannsthal himself and from most of Hofmannsthal's heroes, in a way, more like Elis in the *Bergwerk von Falun*—he might have preferred the religious path to the ethical one, if we may use Kierkegaard's terminology. For what Jedermann, the egotist and aesthete, sees in the mirror of his soul, as his "own form of innocence,"³⁴ is Franciscan love of the Lord and of the lowly. This may not come to us wholly as a surprise, since Jedermann's description of the projected pleasure garden—an earthly paradise full of religious symbols—has already bespoken a soul longing for a more-than-earthly beauty, such as he would have found in the cup of divine love, if he had not rejected it.

Jedermann's burning pain when he realizes what he has lost (and seemingly lost forever) makes him wish, like Oedipus, to tear out those eyes that were not able to see. He exclaims: "What kind of creatures are we then that such a delusion is possible?"

This feeling that we are citizens of two worlds, the lower one unable to grasp the values of the higher, lies at the very heart of the Everyman parable, the story of man's three friends, of whom the one we despise is the only one that abides with us. To the modern mind, this is the most significant aspect of the parable. Yeats in his *Hour-Glass*,³⁵ a play composed in the wake of an *Everyman* performance, contrasts the two worlds; Hofmannsthal, as we have seen, turns the light of consciousness on this experience; nor is this the end, for human delusion becomes, with truly devastating effects, the central motif in another modern story of Everyman, Franz Kafka's novel *Der Prozeß*.

Started in 1914-15, within a few years of the Berlin performance of the *Jedermann* (which also came to Prague, in 1912),³⁶ at a time when Kafka, like his protagonist, was crossing the threshold of the thirties, *The Trial* is an Everyman story that never gets beyond the first line of the old parable. There is a trial against man. Subtly it turns into a trial against God. There is no testing of friends, no oscillation from allegory to interpretation, as with all the other Everyman versions; tightly shut into the world of Joseph K.,³⁷ we are as baffled as he is. By its very first sentence, "Jemand mußte J. K. verleumdet haben," the story seems connected with the fifteenth-century Jewish version of the parable. For there it is said of the man eventually to be saved through "Umkehr" ("return," conversion) and Good Deeds: "Einmal sollte er vor dem

³⁴ "In jedem Menschen wohnt eine eigene Unschuld," *Buch der Freunde*, vermehrte Ausgabe (1929), p. 5; *Selected Prose* (1952), p. 350.

³⁵ Cf. J. W. Barley, *The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama* (1912), pp. 21 ff.

³⁶ H. Lindner, *loc. cit.*, p. 115.

³⁷ See F. Beissner, *Der Erzähler Franz Kafka* (1952), p. 28 f., on the strictly "one-way" course of Kafka's narrative.

König erscheinen, um sich zu rechtfertigen, und die Beamten kamen ihn eilends abzuholen. Da erschrak er sehr, weil er fürchtete, daß man ihn verleumdet habe, um ihn umzubringen . . ."³⁸ Other mediaeval motifs follow. This has to do with style as well as with "perennial psychology"; for Kafka's surrealistic "parables" are more akin to mediaeval allegory than to nineteenth-century naturalism.³⁹ Thus Joseph K. in his bed reminds us of the similar location of Mankind in the *Castle of Perseverance*; and the lamp handed over to Joseph K. by the Chaplain (a scene most effectively used in the Gide-Barrault stage version) is the Lamp of Cognition in the hands of Timor Dei.⁴⁰ With Hofmannsthal's *Jedermann*, in particular, the *Trial* shares three motifs: J. K.'s being called by name (when arrested, in his own report of the arrest, and in the cathedral); the mother's walk to church (what has become of Dürer's and Jedermann's stern and loving adviser! Separated from her son, her eyesight failing, her prayers self-centered and ineffective, she is nothing but the ghost of a walk); finally, the motif of delusion—"Don't deceive yourself," says the Chaplain to J. K., and the Greene-Fine stage version here adds from the Scriptures: "When thine eye is evil, thy body is full of darkness" (Luke 11:34; Matt. 6:22). And to be even more explicit, the Chaplain tells J. K. the parable "Before the Law." But at this point, to borrow an expression from Professor Politzer, exegesis begins to spin around its axle.⁴¹ Do we deceive ourselves, or are we the victims of deceitful or deceived doorkeepers? The puzzle is never solved, nor is this last one: Is J. K. butchered "like a dog," or is it still in some way a sacrificial death, with a knife instead of a cross?

Critics have offered explanations, exposing Kafka's anxiety, frustrations, claustrophobia,⁴² but none of them account for the motif of delusion. It may belong to the sphere of late Jewish Cabbala, with which the poet, like some of his Prague friends, may have had some familiarity.⁴³ For here we find the concept of four worlds placed between the

³⁸ *Der lichtpendende Leuchter* (=Menorath-hammaor), ed. S. Bamberger (1920), p. 412. This collection has been called "a household book of the medieval Jews" (*Jew. Enc.*); there were several German translations available. On the authorship of R. Isaak Aboab, see M. Waxman, *A History of Jewish Literature* (1933), II, 282-287.

³⁹ See J. F. Parry, "Kafka and Gogol," *German Life and Letters*, VI (1953), 141-145; R. Pascal, "Dickens and Kafka," *The Listener*, Apr. 26, 1956, pp. 504 ff.

⁴⁰ A. Klecker, "Das Büchlein von der geistlichen Gemahenschaft in Cod. 295 des Wiener Schottenstiftes," *Festschrift für D. Kralik* (Horn, N.Ö., 1954), pp. 193 ff.

⁴¹ H. Politzer, "Franz Kafka's Letter to his Father," *GR*, XXVIII (1953), 179.

⁴² C. Greenberg, "The Jewishness of Franz Kafka," *Commentary*, XIX (1955), 320-324.

⁴³ F. Kafka, *Gesammelte Werke, Tagebücher 1910-23* (1948-49), p. 712 (M. Brod on their mutual friend, G. M. Langer). There also is, as I hope to show in a forthcoming paper, evidence for such tendencies in the *Castle* and in the diaries. The entry of Jan. 16, 1922 is revealing: "... diese ganze Literatur ist Ansturm

One (En Sof, the Limitless One, the Absolute) and our earthly cosmos, so that the light from above filters down "in progressively deeper disguise."⁴⁴ Evil, then, "in relation to man, is manifested in that he takes semblance for substance."⁴⁵ Unlike his contemporary, Gustav Meyrink, who in his *Golem* (1916) revealed the disguises of saints and sinners within such a system, Kafka chose an average man, a Philistine (the district attorney Hasterer is the only figure to display demonic features, and he seems to have been barred from the final version of the novel). Like every Everyman since *Barlaam and Josaphat*, J. K. is busy in commerce and finance—a profession liable to imbue its successful members with a false sense of security (scholars, like Faust, and warriors, like Parzival, run different dangers!). Translated into the language of Cabbala and Kafka, the motif now reads: J. K., living in the lowest, the "asiyat" or mechanical world, is unable to communicate with his judges.

In a letter to his friend Eberhard v. Bodenhausen (Feb. 26, 1912), Hofmannsthal wrote that allegory, by its very nature, had two dimensions only; the third had to be supplied by something from the outside—the creed of the public.⁴⁶ If this be true, then the strong impact made today by Kafka's *Trial* comes from the fact that the public most readily supplies that background of bewilderment, while few are still able by the experience of their hearts to produce those ideas which form the depth and the height, the third dimension of Hofmannsthal's *Jedermann*.

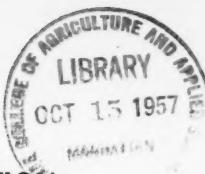
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gegen die Grenze, und sie hätte sich, wenn nicht der Zionismus dazwischen gekommen wäre, leicht zu einer neuen Geheimlehre, einer Kabbala entwickeln können. Ansätze dazu bestehen. Allerdings ein wie unbegreifliches Genie wird hier verlangt, das neu seine Wurzeln in die alten Jahrhunderte treibt oder die alten Jahrhunderte neu erschafft ..." (*ibid.*, p. 553).

⁴⁴ G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, rev. ed. (1946), pp. 272 ff.

⁴⁵ Jew. Enc., "Cabala."

⁴⁶ *Briefe der Freundschaft, 1897-1919* (1953), p. 138.



SPENSER AND THE EPITHALAMIC CONVENTION

THOMAS M. GREENE

WHEN Spenser wrote his *Epithalamion* in 1594, he was acutely conscious that his poem was conventional—that is, that it stood in a given relationship to certain past poems and, once published, would be assimilated with them in their relationship to future poems. His conception of past epithalamia was different from his conception, for example, of the sources of the *Prothalamion*, a title which he invented. He would have been aware, moreover, that not all poems for weddings were epithalamia, and that not even all the poems entitled "Epithalamion" fitted strictly into the convention. I shall here sketch briefly the history of the genre, describe the convention as Spenser received it, and attempt to show what in his poem is conventional and what is not, adding interpretative comments that seem relevant.

Although descriptions of a wedding procession involving songs appear in Homer (*Iliad*, XVIII) and Hesiod (*The Shield of Herakles*), the ancestry of the epithalamic convention goes back to Sappho.¹ There is evidence that earlier Greek poets, such as Hesiod and Alcman, wrote nuptial poems; but Sappho's fragments are the earliest which have survived. Brief nuptial songs appear in Aristophanes' *Peace* and *The Birds*, and in other Greek plays, but the next true epithalamion is the eighteenth eclogue of Theocritus, written for the wedding of Helen and Menelaus.

Latin poets adopted the genre but did not immediately alter it radically. Catullus introduced native wedding customs into the first of his three nuptial poems, the beautiful *Epithalamium* (No. 61) for Vinia Aurunculeia and Manlius Torquatus, the single most influential poem of antiquity upon the Renaissance epithalamists. His other two nuptial poems are No. 62, the *Carmen Nuptiale*, a much briefer song in the form of a dialogue between choruses of youths and maidens, written for no specific occasion, and No. 64, a long narrative *epyllion* written for the legendary wedding of Peleus and Thetis. After Catullus, Ovid is said

¹ Psalm 45 (in the Vulgate Psalm 44) is also an epithalamion, apparently for a royal wedding. Given the distance between Hebrew culture and Greek culture, there is a surprising number of elements which the psalm has in common with the convention known to Spenser. Although contemporary scholars do not consider the *Song of Songs* to have been written for a wedding, early in the Christian era it was interpreted as a celebration of an allegorical marriage. Spenser drew upon the *Song of Songs* (see Israel Baroway, "The Imagery of Spenser and the Song of Songs," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXXIII, 1934, 23), but it was not widely influential in the Renaissance, perhaps because it was considered to be too sacred.

to have written an epithalamion which has been lost; the first chorus of Seneca's tragedy *Medea* may be based upon it.

With the *Epithalamium in Stellam et Violentillam* of Statius (written about A.D. 90), the genre entered a new stage which was to influence the Renaissance far less than the Sapphic-Catullan type (to be described below). Statius' poem, which was imitated by Claudian and several other late Latin epithalamists, consisted of a rather wooden mythological narrative centering around Venus and Cupid. After Statius, the only interesting nuptial poetry is found in the lyrical *Fescennina* which precede one of Claudian's two formal epithalamia. Interest in the genre may have been stimulated in late antiquity by rhetoricians such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Menander, Himerius, and Choricius of Gaza, who wrote prescriptions for or examples of wedding orations. In the Middle Ages Latin devotional poems entitled *Epithalamium* were written, but they had virtually nothing in common with the classical genre.

In the fifteenth century the genre was revived by neo-Latin poets and became so familiar that it could be satirized playfully by Erasmus in his *Colloquia* ("Epithalamium Petri Aegidii"). The best of the fifteenth-century epithalamists was Giovanni Pontano, who wrote nuptial poems, among others, for the marriages of two daughters. The practice of writing neo-Latin epithalamia was carried on by Ariosto and lasted through most of the sixteenth century; the best-known examples are the atypical erotic poem of Johannes Secundus and the patriotic celebration of Mary Stuart's first marriage by the Scottish poet George Buchanan.²

The genre was neglected by quattrocento poets writing in Italian. Torquato Tasso may have been correct in stating that a poem written by his father Bernardo in 1531 was the earliest in the language, although the primacy is hard to establish with certainty.³ Examples can be found in anthologies such as Domeniche's *Delle rime di diversi nobilissimi et eccellentissimi autori* (Venice, 1550) and Atanagi's *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani* (Venice, 1565). The genre really flowered in Italy, however, only with Tasso and Marino, neither of whom was truly conventional. Tasso wrote no formal "epitalamio," but he did write thirteen nuptial poems entitled simply "Nelle nozze di

² For texts, see Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, *Carmina*, ed. Soldati (Florence, 1902) II, 160, 164; Ludovico Ariosto, *Lirica*, ed. Fatini (Bari, 1924), p. 217; Johannes Secundus, *Les Baisers* (Latin text ed. and trans. Maurice Rat, Paris, 1938), p. 36; D. A. Millar, ed., *George Buchanan: A Memorial* (St. Andrews, 1907), p. 300.

³ In one of his *Discorsi del poema croico* T. Tasso alluded to his father's poem as "il Epitalamio fatto nelle nozze del Duca Federico, il quale fu peravventura il primo, che si legesse in questa lingua" (*Opere*, ed. Rosini, Pisa, 1821-32, XII, 16). For the text of this poem see Bernardo Tasso, *De gli Amori* (Venice, 1555), p. 197.

... " or "Per le nozze di . . ." These poems did not adhere strictly to the traditional Catullan pattern but borrowed elements freely from that pattern. One of them, written for the wedding of Marfisa d'Este with her cousin Alfonsino, has been ranked among Tasso's finest lyrics.⁴ Marino wrote ten epithalamia which differed greatly among themselves in structure and style and which represented even more of a break with the Catullan convention than Tasso's poems.

In France the history of the genre, in vernacular language, really begins with Ronsard, although Eustache Deschamps had written two nuptial *ballades*, and Marot two genial and intimate poems for the marriages of royal princesses.⁵ Marot's poems contain occasional borrowings from Catullus, but in tone as well as content they are worlds away from the convention. Ronsard's *Epithalame* (written in 1548), on the other hand, clearly falls within the convention, though it depends more on Theocritus than on Catullus. It was published in Book IV of the *Odes* and prepared the way for a flood of other epithalamia. All but one of the Pléiade poets (Pontus de Tyard) wrote epithalamia, as did most of the other court poets. Among the wealth of examples, Belleau's delicate, lyrical celebration of the princess Claude's wedding in 1558 stands out as particularly attractive. The long *Epithalame* in dramatic form by Du Bellay for the wedding of Marguerite de France, sister of Henry II, is another important example.⁶ The convention remained more or less intact in France to the end of the century. In the new literary atmosphere it was virtually abandoned in nuptial poems by Bertaut and Malherbe, and finally parodied out of existence by the zestful indecencies of Scarron.

In England there are few examples before Spenser; after Spenser the genre has an intricate history. Although at least two earlier poets, Lydgate and Dunbar, wrote nuptial poems, Sidney's *Epithalamion* sung by Ducus in the third eclogue of the *Arcadia* was the first of its kind. Its composition may possibly have been antedated by a translation by Bartholomew Young of a Spanish poem drawn from Gil Polo's continuation of Montemayor's pastoral romance *Diana*. These are the only two English epithalamia which preceded Spenser's poem, and it is interesting that they are both pastorals. The list of seventeenth-century English poets who wrote epithalamia is a long and distinguished one including Donne, Jonson, Herrick, Crashaw, Marvell, and Dryden.⁷

⁴ See Augusto Saimati, *La lirica di Torquato Tasso* (Pisa, 1912).

⁵ Eustache Deschamps, *Oeuvres inédites* (Paris, 1849), I, 154, II, 6. Clément Marot, *Oeuvres*, ed. Yve-Plessis and Plattard (Paris, 1875-1931), V, 85, 98.

⁶ Pierre de Ronsard, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Laumonier (Paris, 1914-49), I, 9. Rémy Belleau, *Oeuvres poétiques*, ed. Marty-Laveaux (Paris, 1878), I, 238. Joachim du Bellay, *Oeuvres poétiques*, ed. Chamard (Paris, 1908-31), V, 201.

⁷ The standard, although incomplete, anthology of English epithalamia is edited by Robert H. Chase, *English Epithalamies* (London, 1896). There are two

Indeed, to follow the progress of the genre is to follow in microcosm the development of seventeenth-century English poetry. It is remarkable that Spenser's poem did not exhaust the epithalamion in England but seems rather to have given it fresh impetus.

The genre acquired increased status in the Renaissance by the discussion devoted to it in such rhetorical treatises as Scaliger's *Poeticae* and Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*.⁸ These discussions combined historical references to past models with rules governing the genre itself. The characteristics most essential to the Renaissance epithalamic convention are the following:

(1) The principals of the wedding celebrated, when it is not fictive, usually belong to the nobility (this is less true in England than on the continent). The poet of course need not be well born himself but he is with few exceptions financially dependent upon the upper class. The weddings which are distinguished enough to be celebrated in verse are the weddings of people wealthy enough to reward the poet and prominent enough socially or politically to justify, so to speak, his encomia. It follows as a corollary of this patron-poet relationship that the epithalamion must contain praise of the bride and bridegroom. Spenser, himself formerly patronized by noblemen, was so conscious of the comparative social obscurity of his own marriage that the first stanza of his poem announces the reversal of the traditional relationship: "So I unto myself alone will sing." There are a few instances in which the principals belong to the upper middle class. In these cases, shifts in tone and treatment—a curtailment of flattery, greater freedom of allusion, etc.—are usually apparent at once.

(2) The epithalamion must follow classical models, in particular Catullus' No. 61. The specific nature of this influence will be described below. First, however, the functioning of the influence should be understood in terms of literary convention. As the body of Renaissance epithalamia increased, the influence of any single poem decreased; in place of the poem, the epithalamist drew upon a stockpile of *topoi*, commonplaces, similes, epithets, traditional good wishes, common strategies and techniques. The epithalamist seems to have been aware of the genre, not so much as a number of individual poems among which he could choose his own "source," but rather as a body of poetic material which was itself intricately entangled with borrowings and

German dissertations which discuss this material: Kurt Wohrmann, *Die englische Epithalamiedichtung der Renaissance und ihre Vorbilder* (Leipzig, 1928); Adelheid Gaertner, *Die englische Epithalamienliteratur im siebzehnten Jahrhundert und ihre Vorbilder* (Coburg, 1936). The best edition of Spenser's *Epithalamion* is by Cortlandt Van Winkle (New York, 1926).

⁸ Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poeticae* (Heidelberg, 1617). George Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Willcock-Walker (Cambridge, 1936).

derivation, a body from which he could draw without necessarily incurring a debt to a given poem. Attempts have been made by scholars to link Spenser's epithalamion to a specific source.⁹ But for a student of the convention all such attempts break down because any given *topos* found in Spenser can be found in several earlier epithalamia.

One might define a convention as a set of allusions. A convention exists when the full literary meaning of a word or a line requires a knowledge of many past works in order to be wholly understood. The vocabulary of a pastoral elegy or a Petrarchan sonnet requires a familiarity with comparable works for its allusiveness to be appreciated. It follows that the first example one encounters in a convention cannot be read as the poet expected his work to be read.

(3) The epithalamion implies a social context. It assumes always a wedding attended by guests participating in a commonly shared jubilation. For a wedding without these elements the epithalamion would have to invent them. Apparently the poem was often a literal part of the entertainment accompanying the ceremony, comparable to the music, singing, dancing, and masques which the greatest weddings required.

(4) The epithalamion must refer to a specific day, fictive or real. Poems containing only generalized good wishes for the wedded couple are not epithalamia. To be conventional the poem must be constructed around the events of the wedding day itself—the religious rites, the banqueting, the bedding of bride and bridegroom (itself a ritual), and the sexual consummation. Thus the poem acquires dramatic impetus not from an institution—marriage—but from a series of concrete actions—a wedding. Aristotle, in the *Rhetoric* (I, 3), distinguished ceremonial or epideictic rhetoric from political and judicial in that the first treated of the present, the second of the future, and the third of the past. The epithalamist imitates the classical epideictic orator in assuming the occasion to be at hand.

In antiquity the successive stages of the wedding festivities provided various pretexts for song. There was a song for the wedding procession, a song for the bedding of the couple, the morning song for their reawakening the next day. The word "epithalamion," derived from the Greek *thalamos*, "bed chamber," implies that it was originally only one of these kinds of wedding poems. The Greek generic name for all these songs was *hymenaios*.

(5) The epithalamion involves the fictive poet-speaker in a certain complex and highly stylized role. This role is one of the most dis-

⁹ Wohrmann, *op. cit.*, links it with Catullus' No. 61. James A. S. McPeek, in *Catullus in Strange and Distant Britain* (Cambridge, 1939), links it with several "sources" but, particularly Marc Claude Buttet's *Epithalame aux nosses de tresmagnanime prince Emmanuel Philibert de Savoie* ...

tinctive and interesting features of the epithalamic convention. A. L. Wheeler, in *Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry*, makes the following remarks on the role assumed by Catullus in his epithalamion for Manlius Torquatus (No. 61) :

The Greek element appears most prominently however in matters of technique. The most interesting feature here is the mimetic-dramatic character of the poem—the manner in which the poet represents himself as taking part in the ceremony in the role of a master of ceremonies and chorus leader. It is the poet who invokes Hymen, urges the girls to sing, addresses the bride, apostrophizes the wedding couch, directs the boys to lift their torches and sing, addresses the favorite slave, the groom—all the persons in fact. Sometimes he maintains his individuality . . . sometimes he associates himself with the rest of the company . . . This is the device which more than anything else gives life to the poem. No other completely extant wedding poem is composed in this way, but the same technique is employed in other forms of poetry, for example in the *Hymns* of Callimachus.¹⁰

Wheeler is right in saying that no other extant wedding poem of antiquity is written from this assumed role, but there is evidence that Catullus's chief source, Sappho, assumed a role which resembled her imitator's. The evidence is contained in an exemplary wedding oration by Himerius, a Greek rhetorician of late antiquity (315-381 B.C.). In his *Oration for the Marriage of Severus* he recalls the epithalamia of Sappho and says of them :

It is she [Sappho] who after the mock combats enters the bridal precincts, decorates the room, spreads the couch, marshals the maidens into the bridal chamber, brings Aphrodite in her car of Graces, and a bevy of Loves to play with her. She twines the bride's hair with hyacinths . . . but the wings of the Loves and their locks she decks with gold, and dispatches them before the car as an escort waving their torches on high.¹¹

This description of the poetess' commanding part in the wedding festivities seems to relate directly to what impresses Wheeler in Catullus' poem. One may conclude from Himerius' evocation that like Catullus Sappho made of herself a kind of mistress of ceremonies, presiding over each successive scene of the wedding pageant and seeming to control its evolution by invocations, apostrophes, and commands. There can be little doubt that Catullus' own mimetic role derives from Sappho.

During the Renaissance the role was accepted almost universally by epithalamists. It is the poet-speaker who makes the wedding arrangements and in the act writes his poem. In some inferior poems he is almost officious, despite his determined high spirits : the chorus of maidens must be out of bed ; the correct gods must attend with the correct gifts ; the roistering must not prevent the couple from retiring ; the sun must not slow his pace ; the bride must not be too fear-

¹⁰ A. L. Wheeler, *Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry* (Berkeley, 1934), p. 200.

¹¹ Quoted in *Sappho—Poems and Fragments*, ed. and trans. C. R. Haines (London, 1926), p. 52.

ful nor the bridegroom too impetuous. Most epithalamia, like Spenser's, are written chiefly in the second person and in the optative subjunctive. The poet-speaker acts as an advocate for society, assuring the couple that they are fortunate, that they are doing wisely to marry, wishing them the socially valuable blessings of prosperity, harmony, and increase. As a result the typical epithalamion is a ritualistic *public* statement, unconcerned with the actual intimate experience undergone by individuals.

The commands, invocations, flattery, and optatives of the speaker all function to call into being the ideal event which the wedding must be, the ideal as defined partly by the convention, partly by the particular society, partly by the poet. A wedding is an ambiguous enough event to permit many interpretations. Something has happened when the wedding day and night are past, but epithalamists do not agree on the nature of the happening. It may be primarily a sexual event, but it may be also a social event, a religious event, or, at the highest level, a political event. It may even in certain poems be related to the natural macrocosmos and thus become a kind of cosmic event. The epithalamist is able to define the event which has occurred through the commands and injunctions which he chooses to make, through the various actions of the wedding day and night which he chooses to name and evoke. Almost all epithalamia include the bedding of the bride and bridegroom, but even this can be treated in widely different terms.

The underlying optative pressure exerted by the poem, the pressure of the ideal conception upon the actual occasion, is felt throughout. Kenneth Burke has discussed the "magical" use of language as decree.¹² This is the characteristic use of language in the epithalamion. It becomes explicit in the concluding *allocutio sponsalis*, where the couple is addressed directly and the traditional wishes are made for their future, typically in the optative subjunctive.

An eighteenth-century critic wrote this of the genre: "Le but de l'Epithalame est de faire connoître aux nouveaux époux le bonheur de leur union, par les louanges qu'on leur donne successivement, et par les avantages qu'on leur annonce pour l'avenir."¹³ To announce to the newly married the happiness of their union—a rhetorical function is involved here which Aristotle, in two separate passages,¹⁴ distinguishes

¹² Kenneth Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form* (Baton Rouge, 1941).

¹³ Abbé Souchay, "Discours sur l'origine et le caractère de l'épithalame," in *Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, IX (1736), 305.

¹⁴ "To call any one blest is, it may be added, the same thing as to call him happy; but these are not the same thing as to bestow praise and encomium upon him; the two latter are a part of 'calling happy,' just as goodness is a part of happiness." *Rhetoric*, I, 9. "Clearly what applies to the best things is not praise, but something greater and better, as is indeed obvious; for what we do to the gods and the most godlike of men is to call them blessed and happy." *Nicomachean Ethics*, I, 12.

from praise, a function which most Aristotelian translators render as "felicitation" or "gratulation" but which a more courageous translator, W. D. Ross, has rendered, lamely and accurately, as "calling happy."¹⁵ One may recall Dryden: "O happy, happy, happy pair!" The Greek term for this is *makarismos*. The epithalamion can be regarded as a series of invocations to action which will demonstrate the ideal felicity of the wedding and thus function as *makarismos*.

With this background we may turn to Spenser's poem, the one epithalamion besides Catullus' which ranks with the world's great poems. The conventional elements noted above are all present in Spenser, with the exception of the aristocratic milieu. Many conventional *topoi*, moreover, appear in Spenser: among others, the "maske" of Hymen; the attendance of the Graces upon the bride; the praise of the bride's beauty; the impatience with the tardy sun; the greeting of Hesperus; the bedding of the bridal couple, with the injunction to break off the revelry; the concluding invocations which replace the *allocutio sponsalis*.

In the remaining pages of this article I shall discuss ways in which Spenser developed, modified, and broke with the convention. His first original stroke was to fuse the roles of bridegroom and poet-speaker; to my knowledge no epithalamist had ever done this before. In most respects the device is successful; it makes perfect sense in the poem and confers added motivation for the speaker's injunctions and directions. His invocation to the Muses, nymphs, and Graces who wait upon his bride can be read as tokens of his solicitous regard for her. His praise of her inner and outer beauty in stanzas nine through eleven appear as spontaneous expressions of his love. His command "Pour out the wine . . ." is reasonable because he is the host. And the concluding prayerful invocations gain a particular fervency because they are prayers for the speaker's own marriage.

These invocations are striking examples of Spenser's fine moral taste. One may compare them with the *allocutio* of the *Prothalamion*, which is highly conventional, albeit the only conventional stanza of the poem:

Joy may have, and gentle hearts content
Of your loves complement;
And let faire Venus, that is Queene of love,
With her heart-quelling Sonne upon you smile,
Whose smile, they say, hath vertue to remove
All Loves dislike, and friendships faultie guile
For ever to assoile.

¹⁵ Compare also Hobbes: "The form of speech whereby men signify their opinion of the goodness of any thing, is *Praise* . . . And that whereby they signify the opinion they have of a man's felicity, is by the Greeks called *Makarismos*, for which we have no name in our tongue." *Leviathan*, ed. Oakeshott (Oxford, 1955), p. 39.



SPENSER AND THE EPITHALAMIC CONVENTION

Let endlesse Peace your steadfast hearts accord,
And blessed Plentie wait upon your bord;
And let your bed with pleasures chast abound,
That fruitful issue may to you afford,
Which may your foes confound,
And make your joyes redound
Upon your Brydale day, which is not long . . .

In the *Epithalamion* Spenser refrains significantly from asking for joy or conjugal pleasure. He assumes them and does not insult his bride by asking for them. He does refer to Genius who, he says, ensures conjugal chastity and pleasure, but he specifically asks him only for offspring. This is, in fact, the chief gift he asks of all the gods invoked. For his offspring he asks happiness but not the other conventional gifts—fame, heroism, and fertility—nor does he ask that they “confound” his foes; he asks rather that they be permitted ultimate sainthood in Heaven. There are no references in the *Epithalamion* to envy or jealousy, “Loves dislike, and friendships faultie guile,” the besetting evils of marriage which were frequently exorcised. These would also be in bad taste where the bridegroom is his own petitioner.

It is only the consummation itself which presents an insuperable problem in tact to the bridegroom-speaker. Spenser, with his delicacy and reverence for his bride, could not have permitted himself any license, license which would be acceptable from a third person. His solution was to divert attention to the ornamental Cupids playing about the bed, a solution not entirely satisfactory. An emotional vacuum is almost created at the point where conventionally emotions are highest. The emotional climax is reserved for the concluding prayers.

The fusion of the bridegroom and speaker roles is not the only original element in the poem. The unconventionality of the bourgeois milieu has already been noted, but some corollary consequences of this might be pointed out. First of all it is interesting that Spenser insists upon rather than veils the provinciality of the occasion. There is a distinctly bourgeois pleasure in the “silken courteins,” “odoudre sheets, and Arras coverlets” of the bridal bed, a pleasure which would be unseemly at an aristocratic occasion. The bourgeois world is represented most vividly by the merchants’ daughters who watch the bridal procession and attend the feast. The effect of their mediocrity is to render the bride more brilliant. There is a lively humor in the poet’s patronizing manner to them, his questioning whether they have ever seen anyone so fair, and why they forget to sing when they see her:

And stand astonisht lyke to those which red
Medusaes mazeful hed.

Later in the church they are admonished to learn obedience and humility

from the bride. It is they finally who are enjoined to bring the bride to her chamber, breaking off their sports and ceasing to sing.

Enough it is, that all the day was youres.

They are associated with the daytime world of activity and festivity which is no longer becoming after the arrival of darkness. With the welcome to night and silence, they disappear from the poem. Conventionally the bride was usually attended by handmaids, but these were never truly realized dramatically.

The bourgeois milieu permits a release of humor which would have been unseemly in the conventional epithalamion. There are a dozen touches of delicate comedy sprinkled through the poem, evidence of the jocularity befitting one's own wedding day. There is the impatient bridegroom's assurance to the sun that his "tired steeds long since have need of rest," a witty way of handling an old *topos*. There is the description of the angels at church who forget to worship out of wonder at the bride's beauty. There is the admonition to the nymphs of Mulla to bind up their hair in order to look their best. There is the wry and realistic allusion to the croaking "Quire of Frogs," a reminder of the boggy Irish countryside. There is the tardy regret that the longest rather than the shortest day of the year was chosen for the wedding. There is the admonition to the young men of the town to write down the date lest they forget it. There is even the punning play on "consent" when Spenser avers that the birds, by their harmonious song

all agree, with sweet consent,
To this dayes merriment.

These benign and gentle touches represent perhaps the closest approach of the Renaissance epithalamion to the vulgar Fescennine jokes of antiquity.

Another unconventional element lies in Spenser's use of his stanza form. The intricate form was derived by Spenser from the Italian *canzone*, although no Italian poem has been found composed in the identical pattern. Italian epithalamia, including Tasso's nuptial poems, were commonly written in the form of *canzoni*, but of course the form was not limited to epithalamia. Spenser's stanza is unusual in its length, varying as it does from seventeen to nineteen lines, and in its number of recurrences. There are twenty-three stanzas in the *Epithalamion*, whereas the typical Italian *canzone* does not exceed eight or ten. The concluding brief address to the poem, the envoy, was characteristic of the *canzone* and was called technically a *tornata* or *commiato*. On the whole the *canzone* as written by Italian poets tended to be a more static poem than Spenser's. The length and complexity of the stanza tended to strengthen the autonomy of each unit and to render the concluding

line more of a conclusion. Spenser's refrain, which is not a characteristic of the *canzone*, renders the conclusion even more emphatic. Thus to write in this form with so strong a narrative element—for the *Epithalamion* is in fact a kind of story—was to demonstrate an audacity of which few Italian poets would have been capable. Spenser's use of the canzone was a deformation of its spirit and of its apparent technical limitations.¹⁶

It has been said that these limitations were in fact too great for Spenser. John Erskine, for example, wrote:

Strictly speaking, each stanza, with its own inspiration, is a song in itself, and the complete poem is a series rather than an organic whole. But the lyrical emotion aroused by all motives is the same in every case, so that, in the broad sense, it would be difficult to deny unity to the poem.¹⁷

But it is demonstrably untrue that the emotion of all the stanzas is alike; one has only to compare the fourteenth stanza—"Pour out the wine without restraint or stay"—with the last. Actually the poem is remarkable for its sudden shifts of tone and mood.

If it is true that the poem is only a series of distinct stanzas, then the poem is certainly a failure. Undeniably the individual stanzas of the *Epithalamion*, more than those of most poems, do have a heightened autonomy; the prosodic variations in length and pattern among them tend to increase their distinctiveness. Each makes a fresh beginning; each evolves with a certain spontaneity; each reaches its foreknown conclusion with renewed ingenuity. But to say this is not to admit that the relationship between the stanzas is factitious. The reader is insensitive who does not feel the balance and architecture of the parts, the calculated progression of feeling, the movement forward to a culmination.¹⁸

¹⁶ Spenser may have been influenced by the Sidney or the Polo-Young epithalamion. Both of these were written in an identical uneven stanza with refrain; neither, however, could be called a *canzone*.

¹⁷ John Erskine, *The Elizabethan Lyric* (New York, 1903), p. 189.

¹⁸ I am tempted to find more elaborate structural balance than other students have discovered. It has been pointed out that, if the prefatory first stanza is disregarded, the two stanzas describing the church ceremony are exactly central; ten stanzas precede and ten follow. I am inclined to see an ulterior division into three-four-three stanzas of each of these groups of ten. The first group of three consists of injunctions to the Muses and nymphs to attend the bride at her wakening. The next group of four, beginning with the line, "Wake now, my love, awake; for it is time," concerns the preparations for the day. The next group of three, beginning with stanza nine, consists of three descriptions of the bride, evoking in turn her immediate beauty as a bride, her physical bodily beauty, and her inner Platonic beauty. After the service three stanzas carry us from the ceremony to nightfall. The seventeenth stanza, beginning "Now cease, ye damsels, your delights fore-past . . . Now day is doen, and night is nighting fast," clearly marks a new beginning, and this is emphasized by the shift in the refrain. Stanzas seventeen through twenty form the night group, which is set off significantly from the preceding daylight stanzas; this group ends the narrative proper. The last three consist of prayerful invocations to the gods.

Unity is also gained by imagistic motifs which recur frequently enough to be significant. Spenser adopted conventional *topoi*, extended and modified them, and added original inventions of his own to form these harmonious and elegant patterns of description and allusion. Jones¹⁰ has discussed the auditory imagery of the poem, imagery which the refrain requires and emphasizes. Spenser's mastery appears here in the deft suiting of sound to mood at each hour of the day, in the choice of images which echo but also help to create personal emotion. One is also struck by the imagery of light and darkness, an antithesis associated with other antitheses of day and night, harmonious or boisterous sound and precarious silence, rising and dressing on the one hand and retiring and undressing on the other.

The poem is unconventional in the repeated expression it gives to the ominous elements associated with night, the elements which might potentially destroy the joy of the wedding and even the marriage. The induction refers to mishaps raised by "death or love or fortune's wreck" in the lives of those who have appeared earlier in Spenser's poems. The second stanza refers to the vicissitudes of the courtship dramatized in the *Amoretti*, the "pains and sorrows past," and the Muses are asked to sing of "solace" as well as of joy to the bride. At nightfall the appearance of Hesperus, a *topos* which goes back to Sappho, occasions unconventional praise of the star for its guidance of lovers "through the nights sad dread." This "sad dread" is elaborated two stanzas below in the invocation to night:

... In thy sable mantle us enwrap,
From feare of perrill and foule horror free.
Let no false treason seeke us to entrap,
Nor any dread disquiet once annoy
The safety of our joy;
But let the night be calme, and quiesome,
Without tempestuous storms or sad afraiay ...

and again in the following stanza which catalogues more fully the disturbances which night might bring:

Let no lamenting cryes, nor dolefull teares,
Be heard all night within, nor yet without:
Ne let false whispers, breeding hidden feares,
Breake gentle sleepe with misconceived dout.
Let no deluding dreames, nor dreadfull sights,
Make sudden sad affrights ...

Here quite clearly the night sounds are not only the effects of nightmares or apparition; they are ambiguous enough to suggest by extension the potential suffering which a lifetime of marriage, not only the wedding night, might involve. The "doleful tears," the "false whispers,"

¹⁰ H. S. V. Jones, *A Spenser Handbook* (New York, 1930), p. 354.

the "misconceived dout," suggest the jealousies and suspicions which conceivably could threaten the marriage and which must be exorcised. Spenser is too tactful to refer to this possibility directly.²⁰ After making this veiled allusion, he fills out his catalogue with more fanciful fears—of witches, hobgoblins, ghosts, creatures which the town maidens might believe in—and modulates to a lighter tone with the concluding "quire of frogs still croaking." The ominous associations of darkness are evoked again, however, in the last stanza, where the stars are described as torches in the temple of heaven

that to us wretched earthly clods
In dreadful darkness lend desired light . . .

Here it is not only the marriage but the whole of human experience which is menaced by the night's sad dread. Thus the threat of disaster, the irrational fear of vaguely specified suffering, hovers faintly over the poem, lending particular urgency to the concluding prayers. It is perhaps not too fanciful to relate the wolves of the fourth stanza to this cluster of night associations and to find in the decorative invocation to the "lightfoot maids" an added symbolic nuance:

And eke, ye lightfoot mayds, which keepe the deere,
That on the hoary mountayne used to towre;
And the wylde wolves, which seeke them to devoure,
With your steele darts doo chace from comming neer;
Be also present heere . . .

The imagery of light is even more ubiquitous. References to the sun, as well as to the moon and stars, recur repeatedly. The sun is associated with brightness, with beauty, with joyfulness; it presides over the wakefulness and activity of the day. The sunlit day is the time of social joy, ritualistic joy; the night, if it is moonlit and starlit, if it is atypical in its silent tranquillity, is the time of personal intimate joy. Both day and night have their respective culminations: day at the center of the poem, night at the conclusion. The act of dressing, which is emphasized in the poem, suggests the personal preparation to meet the active, social,

²⁰ Sidney, who wrote an epithalamion for a fictive, pastoral marriage, did not need to be so tactful. His poem contains a wry catalogue of marital abuses:

"All churlish words, shrewd answers, crabbed looks,
All privateness, self-seeking, inward spite,
All waywardness, which nothing kindly brooks,
All strife for toys and claiming master's right,
Be hence, aye put to flight;
All stirring husband's hate
'Gainst neighbour's good for womanish debate,
Be fled, as things most vain:
O Hymen, long their coupled joys maintain!"

Spenser would have known this catalogue, but his own catalogue of night sounds is the closest approach he makes to it.

audible world outside the chamber. Placed in this context, the conventional bedding of the bride, which is also described, suggests the retirement from the social context, from sound, from public ritual, from the "delights forepast" of the merchants' daughters.

The accumulation of subtle and unlaboried suggestions like these helps to enrich the meaning with which Spenser informs the wedding event. That meaning is in fact very rich. Ultimately the *Epithalamion* is distinguished by its amplitude. It is in every sense a major poem: by its unusual narrative range, embracing *all* the events of the wedding day, by its emotional range, distinguishing with sensitivity and precision related sets of feelings, and by its allusive range, employing without shock a wealth of pagan figures to orchestrate an essentially Christian statement. The world of the poem may be seen as a series of concentric areas. In the center is the couple, always at the dramatic focus; about them lies the town, the "social context"—the merchants' daughters, the young men who ring the bells, the boys who cry "Hymen" with "strong confused noyce"; beyond lies the natural setting, the woods that echo the jubilation with an answering joy, the "cheerful birds," the Mulla, the hoary mountain, and at night the choir of croaking frogs; vaguely outside of this is the world of classical figures, the Muses and the Graces, Maia and Alcmena, Hera, Cynthia, and Hymen, and "Jove's sweet paradise of Day and Night"; finally above all these realms stretches the thinly disguised Christian Heaven, the "temple of the gods," lending light to wretched earthly clods. The poem begins and ends with the widest perspective; at the center of the poem, during the ceremony, the focus has narrowed to the couple itself. Immediately before and after the ceremony the focus includes the "social context." The opening, with its perspective into the past, is balanced by the concluding perspective into the future. Thus, structurally as well as thematically, the amplitude is complemented with an elegant symmetry and an intricate harmony.

If one asks what ideal event is called into being by Spenser's injunctions, the answer is not simple. The event has been social and religious and sexual, and there are hints of a relationship to nature, of a cosmic dimension also. But the richness of Spenser's interpretation is centered in the personal experience of the bridegroom-speaker; the wedding is above all a private emotional event. Because the two roles are fused, the wedding is seen from within, not without. This kind of unconventionality is the most basic of all. Instead of *makarismos*, the assertion of happiness, Spenser achieves the dramatic realization of happiness.

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DRYDEN'S THE INDIAN EMPEROUR AND VOLTAIRE'S ALZIRE

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SHAKESPEARE alone used to be considered important in any account of the impact of the English stage on Voltaire's play-writing.¹ More recently, Maillet and Russell, by giving even greater weight to Dryden's influence, have made him the center of controversy.² Their opinion, based in no small degree on *The Indian Emperour* and *Alzire*, has been vigorously attacked by Breitholtz, who thinks *Alzire*, like other dramas of Voltaire, derives its essential features from seventeenth-century French classical tragedy.³ Underlying both views is an assumption which obscures the relationship of the two works, the idea that *Alzire* is a typical action drama loosely equipped with humanitarian speeches and fictional history. To the contrary, new evidence⁴ in the present paper shows that the play is an experimental form, truly "une espèce assez neuve."⁵ Through a definite dramatic formula Voltaire in *Alzire* subordinates action to thought and strives for historical authenticity. In the light of this, many points at issue in the dispute over Dryden appear of little consequence, and *The Indian Emperour's* vital contribution to *Alzire* is permitted to stand forth in proper perspective.

Because of the prevalent notion that *Alzire* is primarily an action play, comparison with *The Indian Emperour* has been superficial.

(1) Insufficient attention has been paid to the thought of *Alzire*. Most writers do little more than suggest alternative sources for its "philosophic spirit," vaguely defined as declamatory verses about Church and religion. Maillet says *The Indian Emperour* "paraît être à l'origine du genre voltaireen de la 'tragédie philosophique,'" which begins with *Alzire*.⁶ Breitholtz probes the defects in this theory: statements about religion were not unusual on the French stage during the first quarter of the century;⁷ Voltaire before his stay in England intro-

¹ Edouard Sonet, *Voltaire et l'influence anglaise* (Rennes, 1926).

² Albert Maillet, "Dryden et Voltaire," *RLC*, XVIII (1938), 272-286; Trusten W. Russell, *Voltaire, Dryden and Heroic Tragedy* (New York, 1946).

³ Lennart Breitholtz, *Le Théâtre historique en France jusqu'à la Révolution* (Wiesbaden, 1952), pp. 80, 87-88.

⁴ In preparing a critical edition of *Alzire* the writer has gathered materials from manuscript and printed sources concerning the variants of the play, its documentation, religious argument, and structure.

⁵ Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Louis Moland (Paris, 1877), III, 379.

⁶ Maillet, *loc. cit.*, p. 279; cf. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁷ See Henry Carrington Lancaster, *French Tragedy in the Time of Louis XV and Voltaire, 1715-1774* (Baltimore, 1950), I, 45, 53.

duced preachments in *Oedipe*; the "sauvage philosophe" was popular in France before *Alzire*.⁸ No attempt has been made by representatives of either position to determine precisely the sense in which the two plays are philosophic.

(2) Since they are unconcerned with thought, Russell and Breitholtz do not verify the historical allusions made in the two texts. They suppose that history for Voltaire as for Dryden is merely a point of departure for fanciful adventure. According to Russell, Voltaire's tragedies are "historical in much the same sense that Dryden's heroic plays are historical, the historical element consisting in the use of chivalric atmosphere and incident from the heroic romances."⁹ Breitholtz agrees that the two plays are "au fond entièrement non historiques," but for him this "parallel" is not proof of borrowing, because "le théâtre classique français était . . . profondément non historique."¹⁰ The highly doubtful theory that Voltaire, like Dryden, twists history without concern for fact has not been challenged.

(3) Detailed examination of the structural characteristics peculiar to *Alzire* and *The Indian Emperour* is forestalled by preoccupation with the joining of preachments about religion to heroic matter. Without more convincing proof than this union, Russell asserts that Voltaire's conception of the heroic drama is "close to that of Dryden." Breitholtz thinks both writers were inspired by the same heroic materials, but he does not believe Dryden was Voltaire's source: "Il nous semble pour le moins risqué de mettre sur le compte de Dryden, si fortement influencé par la littérature française, l'origine des idées qu'ils [Dryden et Voltaire] avaient en commun."¹¹ Voltaire was able to broaden the range of French classical tragedy because of his intimate knowledge of the French heroic dramas.¹² Shaky conclusions about style and situation do not give either of these opinions reliable support.¹³

⁸ Breitholtz, pp. 80, 82.

⁹ Russell, p. 149.

¹⁰ Breitholtz, p. 88.

¹¹ For Dryden's indebtedness to the heroic romances and dramas of seventeenth-century French literature, see also Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 86-89.

¹² Breitholtz, pp. 80, 88. The argument of Breitholtz damages Russell's position, because the latter never finds adequate criteria for measuring Dryden's influence on Voltaire. For Russell, the similarities between Dryden's dramatic formula and Voltaire's are these: elevation of character and style; use of ghosts and spirits to lift the material above plain history; seriousness of moral purpose. The traits of the first group are also typical of French heroic tragedy. As for the second, ghosts and spirits do not appear in *Alzire*, and Voltaire's concern with historical accuracy is intense. The third feature is common to French tragedy of the last quarter of the seventeenth century, as Russell makes clear in his reference to Rapin, Le Bossu, and Dacier (pp. 1, 80-81). By reference to Voltaire's allusions to *The Indian Emperour* in works published after *Alzire*, Russell does show that Voltaire was acquainted with Dryden's play (pp. 78-79, 81, 99).

¹³ The results are conflicting impressions about language and plot. A com-

For a fuller understanding of Voltaire's relation to Dryden, basic questions, neglected in the past, must be explored and answered. Long overdue is a thorough investigation of three features of the two plays: philosophic meaning, historical orientation, and structure.

In *Alzire*, the discussion of religion, affecting every passage of the play, far outweighs the love element. In the first scene three forms of religion appear. For Gusman, the new governor of Peru, God, as in the Old Testament tradition, is severe, even cruel. Alvarez, father of Gusman, sees God as kind; he is also a proselytizing Christian, anxious for Gusman to reign over "des chrétiens nouveaux." The Incan religion is also presented. The action of the play explores these principles and attitudes, which through conflict give rise to a fourth view of religion, Voltaire's own.

To unite two civilizations through peaceful means of marriage and conversion, Alvarez hastens the wedding of Gusman and Alzire, daughter of Montèze, the former Indian ruler. By use of this expedient and its obstacle—Alzire's love for Zamore, the champion of Incan belief—Voltaire deliberately discomforts those who, for higher purpose, are careless of the happiness of individuals. He has Alvarez persist in his scheme in spite of Alzire's aversion to Gusman. Montèze is unfeeling in his insistence. In Acts II and III, reaction against superficial reconciliation mounts. Zamore exposes the shallowness of the marriage device. The offense to honest emotions and the intent to undermine Indian religion and resistance create strife rather than peace. Gusman threatens to kill Zamore. Act III ends in a combat between Indians and Spaniards. Christian methods of persuasion, whether fierce and willful or well-meaning and scheming, have been measured by the feelings of unsophisticated people.

In Act IV, Voltaire begins to present his own doctrine more positively. Alzire obeys her instinct of benevolence and frees Zamore, but refuses to accompany him into exile. For her the keeping of her word (the marriage vows) transcends the dictates of any religion. Personal integrity is her only law: "J'ai promis: il suffit; il n'importe à quel

parison of *The Indian Emperour* with *Alzire* reveals very few stylistic similarities. The same metaphor is used in both plays to describe the ships of the Spaniards ("tall straight trees...on the waters flew...wings on their sides...at their roots grew floating palaces..."; "L'appareil inoui pour ces mortels nouveaux, / De nos châteaux ailés qui volaient sur les eaux.") The Spaniards' appearance, their weapons, and their impact on the Indians are described in much the same terms. These unimpressive items do help some to support the theory of influence by Dryden. A comparison of situations is hardly more productive. In both plays the heroine is urged by her father to marry a person she detests. This person is later killed by the one she loves. As a result, Alvarez, like Montezuma, finds himself obligated to the murderer of a person near to him and must punish his own benefactor. In both plays a mortally wounded person forgives an adversary. On the other hand, Voltaire omits many episodes typical of the Dryden play—the ghost scene, the racking scene, the duels and stabbings on stage.

dieu." With Zamore's angry departure, need helps her rise above Gusman's limited notion of a God of a particular nation. God cannot be "vainqueur et terrible." If in His name thousands of her people may be slaughtered, suicide must be justifiable. In Act V (Scenes iv and v), faced, as in Act I, with expediency in matters of faith, she is now able to resist hypocrisy. The Council has condemned Zamore and Alzire to death. Alvarez hopes to save them by converting Zamore. Alzire protests that to renounce "aux dieux que l'on croit dans son cœur, / C'est le crime d'un lâche, et non pas une erreur . . ." Already partially revealed by Alvarez's doctrine of a kind God and Alzire's groping toward a universal God for whom sincerity, not conformity, is important, Voltaire's concept of the true spirit of Christianity now appears through the transformation of Gusman, who recognizes a benevolent and universal God and forgives his murderer. In the course of the work a shift has taken place from formality in religion to the quality of the individual human deed. Forbearance from natural solipsistic urges, especially the desire for vengeance, is made to precede belief in higher purpose: "Ah! la loi qui t'oblige à cet effort suprême, / Je [Zamore] commence à le croire, est la loi d'un Dieu même."¹⁴

In contrast to *Alzire*, *The Indian Emperour* has no sustained religious argument. The main interest lies in the battle between love and duty. Fewer than 145 of its lines are devoted to Incan superstition, Christianity, and the Church. Allusion is made to human sacrifices.¹⁵ Vasquez states as a condition of peace that the Indians must abandon their idols and accept Christianity. He speaks of Spanish "religious men" as "awful guides of heavenly government." According to Pizarro, the Pope gave the New World to the Spaniards. Montezuma insists Church should be subservient to state. He refuses under torture to reveal where his gold is and accepts only the priest's deistic thoughts as valid. Common to the two works are an assault on proselytism and brutality and a spirit of understanding and charity (Russell, p. 100), but this in no way indicates that the Dryden play is the "model" for *Alzire* (*ibid.*, p. 84). These elements are too general to reveal origin, and are introduced differently in the two plays. The Dryden play has occasional debates and preachments about religion, but no systematic resolution of a religious problem, the most prominent aspect of *Alzire*.

¹⁴ Christianity in the play is divorced from scriptural dogmas, even that of the divinity of Christ, and is reduced to a formula of natural religion, described by Voltaire during this period as "cette loi de traiter son prochain comme soi-même," which "se fait entendre tôt ou tard au cœur de tous les hommes" (Moland, XXII, 421). To D'Argental, Jan. 4, 1735, Voltaire sends these words concerning *Alzire*: "S'il y a un côté respectable et frappant dans notre religion, c'est ce pardon des injures . . ." (Theodore Besterman, ed., *Voltaire's Correspondence*, Geneva, 1954, IV, 5-6). In this remark "charité" has value, not because it is "chrétienne," but because it is "respectable et frappante," evaluations derived from human experience.

¹⁵ Sir Walter Scott, *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. George Saintsbury (Edinburgh, 1882), II, 342.

The religious argument of *Alzire* is strengthened by references to the history of the Conquest. Using works on the Conquest available to him, Voltaire documents many points pertinent to his theme. He substantiates cruelty and persecution in the name of religion, by reference to the excesses of Cortez in Mexico and Pizarro in Peru. His description of the character of the Incas, "soumis au châtiment, fier dans l'impuissance," "farouche en sa simplicité," agrees with Zarate's picture. References to the religious beliefs and customs of the Incas, their worship of the sun and their many gods, are based on the same historian. Gusman speaks of gods spattered with blood; in this detail, essential to his attack on superstition, Voltaire is following Zarate, who describes and illustrates the sacrifices. Correcting the popular opinion of his day that the Incas were a primitive people, unworthy opponents of their conquerors, he alludes to their science in Zamore's speeches. Other historical references appear in the text and in Voltaire's footnotes. It is obvious that he used the historians of the Conquest for facts and for local color.

Dryden seems to have relied largely on popular opinion in staging the Conquest of Mexico. The historical information he gives is rarely ample enough to permit discovery of source.¹⁶ The most complete statement about Montezuma's "story" is in the Preface, where the leader learns that Montezuma was "a great and glorious prince" whose empire was "subverted" by Cortez aided by the Traxallan Indians. Dryden, using meager, sometimes distorted material, invents for his remote setting enterprises in love and war which put to trial the superhuman qualities of his heroes and heroines. He does not bind the reader to the realities of the Conquest, "it being not the business of a Poet to represent Historical Truth, but probability," nor even to probability, for he seeks to incite the imagination by "an irregular piece . . . written with more Flame than Art . . ."¹⁷ Voltaire, on the other hand, in order to make his definition of true Christian behavior and belief more convincing, repeatedly reminds the spectator that the war of ideas he describes had a basis in fact.

In creating a vehicle to dramatize the Conquest's bitter rivalry of creeds, Voltaire drew upon heroic tragedy. Both Russell and Breitholtz

¹⁶ One allusion can with some certainty be traced to a definite source. In *The Indian Emperour*, Montezuma on the rack reproves his fellow sufferer, the High Priest, for weakening under torture: "Thinkst thou I lie on beds of roses here, / Or in a wanton bath stretched at my ease?" (Scott-Saintsbury, II, 399). Lopez de Gomara (*Crónica*, Chap. 145) has the Mexican prince Guatemozin say to another Indian chief, who moans when the Spaniards burn his feet: "Estoi yo en algun deleite, o bafio?" (see Russell, p. 81). Dryden's inaccuracy is our main concern here. The Gomara account involves, not Montezuma, already dead, and a high priest, but two Indian princes less known than Montezuma. Cortez, whose force of character, kindness, and charity Dryden exalts, consented to the torture.

¹⁷ John Dryden, *The Indian Emperour; or the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards* (London, 1686), p. a4.

recognize the influence of this genre, but they are unable to prove that Voltaire imitated a distinguishable variant of its form. Although radically different from Dryden's play in depth of thought and in authority, *Alzire* possesses a structure which breaks with French classical tradition and follows the pattern of *The Indian Emperour*. It is not accurate to say with Breitholtz that Voltaire simply modified French classical tragedy with innovations taken from the French heroic romances and dramas. The bias that Dryden gave to heroic tragedy appears to have inspired the formula which makes *Alzire's* kind of sustained argument possible.

Before *Alzire*, Voltaire had not offered a thoroughgoing discussion play. Not only was there no clear precedent for the genre on the French stage, but classical tragedy was hardly adaptable to the unfolding of a doctrine, although it could be used for the sort of preaching found in *Œdipe*, composed of isolated statements about government and religion, or for the illustration of a psychological truth through the triumph or fall of personalities, like *Polyeucte* or *Phèdre*. But highly condensed action, with events closely joined by causal nexus to the personality of one protagonist, does not offer the structural latitude needed for dialectic. The demands of verisimilitude limit the author's freedom to arrange circumstances for the purpose of testing various teachings. Voltaire could find a way around these obstacles in *The Indian Emperour*. Both plays exhibit two features incompatible with French classical tradition. A third represents an emphatic departure from the usual French play of the heroic type. All three elements are favorable to the dramatic presentation of a conflict of principles.

(1) *The Indian Emperour* has at least seven personages of roughly equal importance, each with interests which contribute a different facet to the evolving struggle between love and duty. It cannot be said that a fully conceived personality, as in French classical tragedy, tends to determine and dominate the play. Rather than an error in judgment, a fluid readjusting of the attitudes and alliances of many generalized characters molds the course of the plot. The number of characters in *Alzire* is not so great, but the number of important free agents is large. Gusman and Alvarez represent two extreme Christian viewpoints, Zamore a pagan religion. Montèze, whose role is the least strong, is a symbol of uncritical conformity, a bridge between the world of Gusman and that of Zamore. Alzire, at first the instrument of her father, becomes the chief representative of sincerity in religion. Each character (the term caricature is not inappropriate) is conceived as independent, capable of making decisions and defending them according to his knowledge and interpretation of religion. No one of them is the victim of a defect or the unknowing dupe of another who controls the intrigue.

(2) The plot of *The Indian Emperour* is far more complicated than the ideal plot of classical tragedy with its strongly unified action. At the moment of Cortez's landing, competition for love and throne exists between Guyomar and Odmar. With the arrival of the expedition, three more triangles arise. Opponents are intricately bound to one another by family ties and earlier deeds of generosity. The plot of *Alzire* is complicated in the same way. Complex bonds exist between personages. Gusman's succession to power, the marriage of Alzire, Zamore's release from prison, take place almost simultaneously to produce discord over religion and love.

(3) A third trait distinguishes *Alzire* and *The Indian Emperour* from French heroic drama. Their characters are clearly aware that they are obliged by kinship, vows, or gratitude. There is no confusion of identities. French heroic tragedies sometimes have as many personages and are equally involved, but, unlike *The Indian Emperour* and *Alzire*, they abound in concealed ties. In a carefully documented work Mornet asserts that "chez Corneille, chez Thomas Corneille, chez Quinault, chez tous les autres, c'est pour ainsi dire, une règle que les personnages ne soient pas ce qu'on croit qu'ils sont, ou même ce qu'ils croient être . . ."¹⁸ In *The Indian Emperour* and *Alzire*, knowledge of such relationships, although it sacrifices suspense and irony, intensifies emotionally the debate of issues.

As a result of these three features, *The Indian Emperour* and *Alzire* offer an informed jousting in word and deed among many responsible characters. In the Dryden play, discussions in which the personages reason about love and honor, hate and duty, follow one another rapidly. Instead of prepared discovery and reversal, the spectator experiences surprise after surprise in a winding action filled with many upsets to all sides. In *Alzire*, a similar flexibility serves the religious argument. In a real sense action is made subservient to thought. Ideas are tested by the conflicts and bonds existing between many free agents. The audience follows the dialectic as Voltaire advances, contradicts, and substitutes premises through the statements and acts of his characters.

The adoption by Voltaire of this structure brought with it the atmosphere of improbability that classical doctrine sought to avoid. Although the elimination of situations deriving their effect from mistaken identity reduced the sensationalism typical of French heroic tragedy, Voltaire was criticized severely by his contemporaries for *Alzire's* lack of "vraisemblance."¹⁹ He did not meet these charges with the drastic

¹⁸ Daniel Mornet, *Histoire de la littérature française classique, 1660-1700* (Paris, 1950), p. 17.

¹⁹ See, for example, the chapter on *Alzire* by Jean Marie Bernard Clément, *De la tragédie, pour servir de suite aux lettres à Voltaire* (Amsterdam, 1784), pp. 64-76.

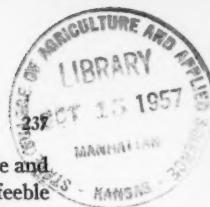
revisions which would have been required by a return to classical doctrine. Using the demands of dialectic as his criterion rather than those of probable action, he worked to improve his presentation of religious principles. The footnotes of *Alzire* bear witness to his efforts. The notes of the first 1736 edition give many details about the Conquest. In later editions of 1736 the notes are amplified. In the edition of 1738 some of the references are introduced into the text. Variants within lines, an additional speech, and the refusal to make changes reveal more concern with philosophic theme than with verisimilitude. Many verses are altered to improve the formulation of ideas. Alzire's statement about suicide (Moland, III, 429, lines 1-19), added after the first performances, heightens the assault on Gusman's concept of Christianity and prepares her denunciation of hypocrisy.²⁰ D'Argental's taste was shocked by the unexpected "conversion" of Gusman from a cruel to a kind person; Voltaire forbade any change. The conversion is a suitable device for imparting a religious creed: "Un homme qui a la vengeance en main et qui pardonne passe partout pour un héros; et, quand cet héroïsme est consacré par la religion, il en devient plus vénérable au peuple, qui croit voir dans ces actions de clémence quelque chose de divin."²¹ Although a proper dramatic effect through pity and fear may presuppose verisimilitude, the disclosure of a philosophic truth requires, Voltaire suggests, other means determined by the audience.

Dryden's principal contribution to Voltaire does not consist of the "innovations" and "resemblances" stressed in the past, including declamatory lines about religion, distortion of history, use of chivalric incident and atmosphere. These fail to prove that *Alzire* is more closely related to *The Indian Emperour* than to French tragedy. Moreover, such criteria have led scholars to ignore basic differences. The two works are philosophic in a very different sense. *Alzire* has a sustained religious argument absent in *The Indian Emperour*, and many ideas not expressed by Dryden. The needs of dialectic determine the course of *Alzire's* action, which is always at the service of thought. Because his primary purpose is to develop a thesis rather than to stir the imagination by fanciful adventure, Voltaire makes a serious effort to ground his premises in historical experience. Through informative allusions to Incan religious belief and practice, Christian policies during the Conquest, climate, the cities of Los-Reyes and Cuzco, methods of warfare, and form of government, he brings to life an American scene taken less from popular opinion in the fashion of Dryden than from the accounts of colonial historians.

²⁰ MS. 36253 Bibl. Hist. Ville Paris Rés. 2025. In a marginal notation on this fragment of a handwritten draft of the play, Voltaire writes: "Acte 5, Alzire, après la scène avec son père. Je n'ai point envoyé ces vers aux comédiens. Il serait à souhaiter que la police les passât. Il n'y a qu'un scrupule mal fondé qui puisse les rejeter. Voltaire."

²¹ Besterman, IV, 5.

DRYDEN AND VOLTAIRE



In view of these two fundamental differences, resemblances in style and situation appear less noteworthy than before, hardly more than a feeble indication that Voltaire was acquainted with *The Indian Emperour*. At the same time, the predominance of thought and insistence on historical authenticity underline the importance of other characteristics. In *Alzire* Voltaire implemented a formula involving a multiplicity of free agents, a complicated web of circumstance, and the absence of trick reversals of fortune. This implied a departure from classical models and doctrine, despite constant criticism, and from the usual heroic tradition; *Alzire*, contrary to the view of Breitholtz, bears a closer resemblance to *The Indian Emperour* than to French tragedies of the type "héroïque" and "compliqué," with their mistaken identities. Dryden's contribution to Voltaire is substantial and vital. The structure of *The Indian Emperour*, providing the flexibility and impact of fast-moving events and responsible decisions, allowed Voltaire to adapt the heroic genre to his serious philosophic purpose—the discussion of a religious problem within an authentic historical context.

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LA PUCELLE AND PARADISE LOST

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AMONG the possible sources of *Paradise Lost* is one that has not thus far been considered: Jean Chapelain's *La Pucelle, ou La France Délivrée*. Its mention by Edward Phillips in the *Theatrum Poetarum*—"Le Sieur Chappelain, the author of a French poem entitled *la Pucelle, or France's delivery*"—may or may not indicate that the book was in Milton's library.¹ Voltaire, though quite familiar with *La Pucelle*, does not include it among the sources he has discovered for *Paradise Lost*; Douglas Bush numbers it among the "foothills" that led up to the great peak, and lets it go at that.² No other student of the Christian epic has connected it with *Paradise Lost*; no other student of Milton has mentioned it at all.

I suspect that *La Pucelle* has been overlooked (1) because it deals with a non-Biblical subject and (2) because in itself it is not worth reading. I do not maintain that Chapelain's flatulent *épopée* was necessarily a source of *Paradise Lost*; but I suggest that, since it was a nationalist poem roughly analogous to Milton's projected Arthurian epic, he may conceivably have had all or parts of it read to him, and that Miltonists should be aware of the relevant passages.

In 1656—four years after Milton lost his sight and eleven years before the publication of *Paradise Lost*—A. Courbé of Paris published two editions of *La Pucelle*, the second a revision; in the same year J. Jansson of Amsterdam reprinted the text of Courbé's first edition; in 1657 Courbé published another revision.³ Milton could have known any of these.

Perhaps the most obvious weakness of *La Pucelle* is that it transfers all the conventional devices and stock situations of the epic War in Heaven to earthly battlefields; armies of angels and devils take sides with the French and English, respectively, and rob the fighting of all human probability. Behind this is the more fundamental weakness that the human characters themselves lack moral complexity—Milton's

¹ Elbert N. S. Thompson, "Milton's Part in *Theatrum Poetarum*," *MLN*, XXXVI (1921), 18-21, says there is "no clear evidence of Milton's personal guidance" either in the preface or in the body of the work. On the other hand, Harris Fletcher, "Milton's [Index Poeticus]—the *Theatrum Poetarum* by Edward Phillips," *JEGP*, LV (1956), 35-40, finds reason to believe that the *Theatrum* was "almost completely produced by Milton, though not of course in the form in which it was printed."

² Douglas Bush, *English Literature of the Earlier Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1945), p. 353.

³ Thanks are due the Research Council of the Pennsylvania State University for enabling me to consult Jansson's 1656 edition in the Rare Book Room of the New York Public Library.

Satan has admirable qualities, but Chapelain's Duke of Bedford is as simple as Simon Legree and his Satan is merely Old Nick. To the critics' objection that spirits should not take part so literally in human warfare Chapelain replies in the preface to the 1657 edition that Homer "et après lui toute la famille poétique . . . ont introduit les divinités dans les actions des hommes."⁴ But there are two important differences: (1) Homer's gods participate in the fighting as individuals, not as armies, and (2) they know better than to try to kill each other. The newer tradition in which Chapelain works is inherently ridiculous, and he lacks Milton's power to give it a grotesque grandeur.

Thus, in Book II of *La Pucelle* (pp. 45-46), thousands of angels, equipped with swords, shields, lances, pikes, arrows, and darts from the well-stocked arsenal "Vers la Maison celeste, où la Vierge réside," come to Joan's aid during the siege of Orleans. Devils therefore come to the aid of the Duke of Bedford, and God sends another band of angels to fight them off. Compare *Paradise Lost*, VI, 215-246, with the parallel passage in *La Pucelle*, III (pp. 79-80). When Joan prays for help against the devils,

Dieu voit le grand peril, accorde sa demande,
Et des soldats ailés fait partir vne bande;

Uriel leads them, and in "vn aspre combat" the legions of Hell are "Escarés loin du Fort par l'Angelique fer." These lines indicate the journalistic quality of the whole passage; Chapelain tells us what is happening, but lacks art to make us see it happening. Moreover, though on both sides "chacun là se signale," the battle is on a smaller scale than anything in *Paradise Lost*, and therefore more ridiculous. We are both shocked and filled with contempt by Chapelain's lack of economy, by the disproportion between his means and his ends; to fight for the mastery of Heaven is worthy of immortal spirits: to fight for possession of Orleans is not. Chapelain's angels and devils lack stature; they are not godlike or terrible.

Even when Milton's Satan is least godlike, as in the passage recounting the invention of artillery (*Paradise Lost*, VI, 469-599), he has more dignity than Chapelain's. That rather worn convention of the Christian epic occurs in *La Pucelle*, VI (pp. 171-172); the similarity of material serves only to emphasize the difference of scale:

Dans vn moule estendu d'argille espaisse & grasse,
De differens metaux il fondit vne masse,
La creusa, l'arrondit, & par lvn de ses bouts
Le fit propre à lancer le fer & les cailloux.
Par les plus noirs Demons il fabriqua la Poudre,
Qui deuoit allumer cette infernale Foudre,
Et qui, chassant son dard par les airs à grand bruit,
Tout obstacle opposé choque, ebrane & detruit.

* J. Chapelain, *Opuscules critiques*, ed. Alfred C. Hunter (Paris, 1936), p. 269.

A devil dressed up like a Saxon presents this instrument to the Duke of Bedford, who then takes city after city as long as the French king is under "l'Ire diuine."

Mais, quand le Ciel calme voulut par sa Clemence
Retirer du tombeau la Françoise puissance,
Dans les mains du François vin l'Instrument fatal
Inuenté contre lui par le Monstre infernal.

Accordingly, in Book XI (pp. 309-310), the French use artillery against the English at Paris. Comparison with Satan's bombardment of the heavenly troops affords another illustration of the genius with which Milton handled this ludicrous device. In *Paradise Lost* there is, if not probability, at least some good bloody or ichorous violence; in *La Pucelle* there is mere earnest perseverance, as if the artillerist were being paid by the cubic yard of wall destroyed:

Le Canonnier recharge &, soudain repointant,
A redoubler ses coups ne perd pas vn instant.

But despite his industry the bombardment goes slowly and ends anticlimactically:

Le terrain d'heure en heure affaisse sa hauteur,
Et l'ourrage entrepris s'auance avec lenteur.
Mais enfin le Canon qui sans cesse descharge
Donne aux vœux du François vne breche assés large.

Critics have laughed or groaned (according to their temperament) at Milton's angels uprooting the hills of Heaven and throwing them on top of the devils (*Paradise Lost*, VI, 635-669); but Milton had many bad examples before him, of which one of the worst, if he heard it, was a passage in *La Pucelle*, IV (pp. 119-120). The Duke of Bedford, fighting hand to hand with Joan at Orleans, is inspired by Satan with the ungentlemanly notion of pushing her off the wall. This he does, and his soldiers, with infernal assistance, throw a section of the wall down on her. But her guardian angel holds up its weight, crushing its stones to powder as they fall on him, and Joan emerges from the débris with no worse damage than dusty armor:

De l'horrible fardeau la bruyante tempeste
Tombe à plomb sur la Sainte & luy couure la teste...
Elle voit son trespass ; mais l'Ange qui la veille
Fait voir, en sa faveur, vne rare merueille ;
Aux Anglois inuisible, inuisible aux François,
Il supporte du mur l'insupportable poids...
La roche conuertie en possiere menuë,
Par l'Angelique main, dont elle est soustenuë,
S'espand sur l'Héroïne &, pour vn peu de temps,
Rauit à son harnois les rayons eclatans.

Two of Milton's bad angels, Adramelec and Asmadai, are "in a Rock of Diamond Armd" (*Paradise Lost*, VI, 364); the same precious ma-

terial protects Joan at Paris in *La Pucelle*, XI (p. 329). Wounded and caught outside the walls, she prays for help. A shower of arrows and cannon balls falls around her ;

Mais, le secours des Cieux preuenant leur atteinte,
D'vn mur de diamant environne la Sainte ;
Les feux, les dards, les rocs, sur sa teste lancés,
Tombent, deçà, delà, rompus, ou repoussés.

The ultimate weapon, of course, is thunder ; it is so terrible that Milton's Messiah checks it in mid-volley lest He destroy the indestructible (*Paradise Lost*, VI, 853-855). In *La Pucelle*, XII (pp. 338-339), God exercises similar restraint. Charles, thinking Joan has killed his son, accuses her of treachery and sorcery ; God launches a bolt of thunder at his head, but at Joan's intercession recalls it in mid-air :

La Sainte se resueille, & voit Dieu qui s'appreste
A lancer son grand dard sur la Royale teste ;
A cete horrible veuë elle tremble & fremit.

Then follows a prayer, which, with its accompaniment of thunder and lightning, takes fifty lines. The thunder and lightning affect the bystanders, French and English alike, in much the same way that the Messiah's affected the fleeing devils (*Paradise Lost*, VI, 848-852). But the prayer has its effect :

Et le courroux diuin par son zèle forceé,
Rappella dans les Cieux le tonnerre lancé.

Milton's beautiful description of the coming of night, when the earth is clad successively in twilight's "sober Liverie" and moonlight's "Silver Mantle" (*Paradise Lost*, IV, 598-609), has its commonplace counterpart in *La Pucelle*, VIII (p. 221) :

La clarté s'esteignoit, et la nuit vagabonde
De son voile ombrageux enuelloppoit le monde.

The dreams with which Satan sought to trouble the mind of Eve (*Paradise Lost*, IV, 799-809) also have a counterpart in the next two lines of *La Pucelle* :

Elle rouloit sans bruit, & mille Songes vains
S'enuoloient de son char dans les coëurs des humains.

Satan's encouragement of his routed army (*Paradise Lost*, I, 105-124, 283-315, 622-662 ; II, 14-16, 60-64, 518-523) has striking parallels in *La Pucelle*, IX (pp. 258-259), where Bedford addresses his defeated troops :

Il s'auance à grand bruit, cōme vn foudre qui gronde,
Et qui d'vn proche éclat menace le bas Monde ;
Il s'auance à grands pas, & dans son viste cours
Parle à ses bataillons, & leur tient ce discours . . .

Oubliions nostre honte, oubliions sa victoire ;
 Nous verrons nos malheurs suyvis de nostre gloire ;
 Aux despens du François, nous l'allons releuer,
 Et par vn coup fatal nos trauauxachever...
 D'vne palme si noble, Amis, soyons jaloux,
 Et ne permettons pas qu'on la cueille sans nous.
 Betford, en s'esloignât des campagnes Normandes,
 Ainsi parle à ses chefs, ainsi parle à ses bandes ;
 Tous par cent cris guerriers approuvêt son discours,
 Et vers Rheims à-l'enuy precipitent leurs cours.

The rejoicing of the saints at God's expulsion of the devils (*Paradise Lost*, VII, 180-191) and at the creation of the world (VII, 251-260, 557-574, 593-632), with all its grandeur, is not unbelievable; granted the scene and the characters, these passages obey the Aristotelian rule of probability. Not so much can be said for the approbation of the Heavens in *La Pucelle*, XII (p. 340) :

Par la bouche des Vents & la voix du Tonnerre,
 Dans sa sainte fureur, Dieu s'explique à la Terre ;
 Le Camp contre son Roy le connoist irrité ;
 Mais la seule Pucelle entend sa volonté.
 Les Cieux, qui dans leur cours comme elle l'entendirent,
 A son ordre immuable, en tremblant, applaudirent ;
 Le Destin recueillit le Decret souverain,
 Et le grauia du doigt, sur l'éternel airain.

In the last two lines we can already see the beginning of neoclassicism; it is as if Chapelain were deliberately putting in something for the engraver. Another interesting clause is "Dieu s'explique à la Terre." One of the major themes common to Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant theology is that God is not accountable to man and needs no justification in human terms. That is the message of Ecclesiastes and the Book of Job; it is explicitly stated in Romans 9:11-21, and its various implications are developed by St. Augustine, St. Thomas, Ignatius Loyola, Martin Luther, and John Calvin. When Milton undertook to justify God's ways he was being consciously and deliberately heretical. I shall explore the reasons in another paper; meanwhile, the fact that Chapelain's God feels a need to explain Himself, even though no one but Joan can understand Him, indicates that the idea is in the air.

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A NOTE ON CAMUS AND THE AMERICAN NOVEL

PHILIP THODY

PROFESSOR Harry R. Garvin's article "Camus and the American Novel," in *Comparative Literature*, VII (1956), 194-204, is most stimulating, and offers a tempting explanation for the inferiority of *La Peste* to *L'Étranger* as a work of art. It seems to me, however, that the article is based upon two misconceptions which partly invalidate some of Mr. Garvin's conclusions. The first is that the excellence of *L'Étranger* is due to a large extent to Camus' adaptation of the techniques of the American novel, the second that *La Peste* is deliberately intended to be a Promethean work of art.

On the question of the influence of Hemingway on Camus, Mr. Garvin quotes Jean-Paul Sartre and Henri Peyre, but not Camus himself. In the *enquête* which *Combat* conducted into the popularity of the American novel in France, Camus stated that he had adapted Hemingway's techniques in *L'Étranger* because it suited his purpose of describing "un homme sans conscience apparente."¹ In refusing to allow Meursault to show understanding of the world and of his own mind, Camus used a technique which, as he understood it, had been elaborated by the Americans in order to describe those men who were not conscious of themselves—Lennie, Jake Barnes, etc. This technique was, for him, that of "le roman américain de comportement,"² and he was imitating not the finely balanced descriptive prose of Hemingway but the rather crude idea of what this prose was like which had been popularized by writers and translators. One of the features of the vogue of the American novel in France was the simplified picture which French critics and writers had of this novel. For them, an American novelist was "brutal, cruel, obscene, peintre sans nuances de personnages simplifiés jusqu'à la caricature."³

It is this idea of the American novel that Camus both imitates in *L'Étranger* and criticizes in *L'Homme révolté*. It reduces man to only one dimension, maintains Camus, and denies him—as he himself denied Meursault—all interior life and reality. *L'Homme révolté* is a book which criticizes excesses in French literary fashion as well as excess—"démesure"—in contemporary politics. In attacking the "tough" school of American fiction, Camus is less concerned with the actual merits of the writers who compose this school than with its general aesthetics

¹ *Combat*, for Jan. 17, 1947.

² Preface of the Pléiade edition of the *Oeuvres complètes* of Roger Martin du Gard (1955), p. vii.

³ Jean Blanzat in *Le Figaro littéraire*, June 12, 1947; review of the translation of Erskine Caldwell's *Trouble in July*.

and with the idea put forward by certain French critics that its realism constitutes true revolt in the field of art. His attack upon its oversimplifications is similar to his criticism of the deification by the surrealists and others of de Sade, Lautréamont, and Rimbaud as ideal rebels.

To me, it seems doubtful whether Camus had a real appreciation of the genuine merits of Hemingway and of other American writers,⁴ and whether he learned anything from them but the purely external aspects of their prose. The careful planning of *L'Étranger*, the balance between the first and second parts, the gradual building up of the tension, the alternation of intentionally dull prose with passages highly charged with images, the evocation of the sensations of life in North Africa, the irony of Meursault's comments, his dry humor and incorruptible honesty all seem to me to come from elsewhere. Camus' experience of the theater taught him the importance of building up tension; and he had already at hand in Voltaire and Mérimée a literary tradition from which, if he had not learned to "extend meanings by implication and to make comments unobtrusively,"⁵ he had at least acquired a sense of the importance of quiet irony. Meursault's simplicity and directness of mind, as well as his acute awareness of sights, sounds, and smells, are already foreshadowed in Camus' early essays, *L'Envers et l'endroit* and *Noës*. Lastly, his use of the *passé composé* throughout the novel, creating, as it does, the sense of the discontinuity of Meursault's experience, is not a result of the influence of Hemingway, since in the French translations of Hemingway's novels the narrative tense employed is the *passé simple*. This important factor in the technique of the novel is an original creation on Camus' part. It is always difficult to establish the exact degree of influence of one writer upon another, and in many cases the writer himself would probably be unable to define it exactly. I would suggest, however, that Camus' own remark about his use of Hemingway's style should keep us from assuming that *L'Étranger* owes too large a debt to *The Sun Also Rises*.⁶

Mr. Garvin is entirely right, I think, to say that *L'Étranger* is a minor classic because Camus is writing within certain defined limits and because, like Hemingway, he is not being overambitious. Mr. Garvin is right also, I think, to insist upon the impossibility of major tragic art in the present century—at least in the medium of the novel. Where I would differ is in his excessive criticism of *La Peste*, considered as an

⁴ It is interesting to compare what he said about them—that their art rapidly leads to an impasse—with his praise in the same article for Hawthorne and Melville. Camus has also written an enthusiastic study of Melville, praising him both as an artist and as a thinker.

⁵ Garvin, *loc. cit.*, p. 195.

⁶ A full treatment of this question is to be found in J. Cruikshank, "Camus' Technique in *L'Étranger*," *French Studies*, X, (1956), 241-254. See also Carlo Viggiani, "Camus' *L'Étranger*," *PMLA*, LXXI (1956), 865-887.

attempt to achieve the idea of Promethean art expressed in *L'Homme révolté*. It is true that *La Peste* takes up many of the themes of *La Remarque sur la Révolte* and that Rieux and Tarrou are unsatisfying as characters partly because they are prototypes of Camus' ideal philosophical rebel. I would disagree, however, with the assumption that *La Peste* is primarily intended to express these ideas of revolt, and that its comparative failure as a novel comes from too great a metaphysical ambition.

La Peste is a description of the German occupation of France in the terms of the allegory of a modern city invaded and isolated by plague. Part of it was written and published under the occupation.⁷ While many of its themes do recall Camus' philosophical ideas—the plague is abstraction, justifying legalized murder; it manifests the absurd and can be fought against only by moderation and tolerance—it is an allegory in the form of a realistic novel. By that I mean that the details of Camus' description evoke another set of circumstances not directly described. (The rats dying on the pavements are not only the real forerunners of actual plague⁸ but also the signs of the coming catastrophe which Oran, like the Europe of the 1930s, chooses to ignore until it is too late. The imposition of quarantine is also the separation brought about by German occupation, the "équipes sanitaires" are the Resistance movement, etc., etc.) It is on this much less ambitious plane that *La Peste* was, in my opinion, conceived and written, and should therefore be judged. If it is considered as an account of a plague in the city of Oran and an allegory of the German occupation—which is what it is intended to be—then it is far more satisfying both as a work of art and as the expression of certain ideas.

The main characters in the book are not Rieux and Tarrou but the Plague and the Town. It is almost a collectivist novel, in which groups of people and abstractions are more important than individuals. If the construction of the novel is any guide to its meaning, its whole theme is the overwhelming of individuals by abstraction, the temporary dominance of this abstraction, and the gradual return to the world of the individual. The first part of the book contains minute descriptions of personal actions, indicated by the frequency of verbs—"Le matin du seize avril le docteur Bernard Rieux sortit de son cabinet et buta sur un rat mort au milieu du palier. Sur le moment il écarta la bête sans y prendre garde et descendit l'escalier"—as well as portraits of the town in an ironic and already semicollectivist style. As the plague becomes more powerful and dominates the town, the style itself reflects the absolute power of evil abstraction. Even in the occasional scenes in the center of the novel which are highlighted for the purposes of Camus'

⁷ The first analysis of the feeling of exile, "Les Exilés dans *La Peste*," appeared in the Swiss magazine *Domaine français* in 1943, pp. 35-45.

⁸ See Black's *Medical Dictionary*, 19th ed. (London, 1948).

arguments, and where individuals are described—the death of Judge Othon's son is a case in point—it is the plague which is the most important character. In this scene, the plague is described with a wealth of images which makes it clear that it dominates the events described as it dominates the whole town. If it is true that, as Sartre said, the technique of a novelist always implies a metaphysic,⁹ then Camus' technique in *La Peste* reflects one central idea—that abstraction can dominate a civilization and render individuals both unimportant and impotent. No indication is given in *La Peste* that either Rieux's action as a doctor or Tarrou's organization of the "équipes sanitaires" has any effect upon the course which it pleases the plague to take.

If *La Peste* is read as a novel of ideas, it is, as Mr. Garvin says, "theme ridden, contrived."¹⁰ What is more, as soon as the work is studied as a novel of ideas, its many weaknesses come to light. The attitude which Camus advocates is effective only in the particular circumstances of real plague, and loses much of its value as soon as resistance is considered not as a fight against impersonal germs but against other men. Moreover, the closing sentence, for all the poetry of its threat, "... la peste réveillerait ses rats et les enverrait mourir dans les rues d'une cité heureuse," hints at an acceptance of the inevitability of evil and a refusal to do anything which would prevent the return of another plague. (As, for example, dismissing the town sanitary inspector and reorganizing the drainage system—in allegory this could mean much.) The fact that the novel was a less satisfying allegory on the moral than on the physical level was noted by several leading French critics, and *La Peste*, for all its popularity, did not receive a unanimous critical acclaim for its ideas.¹¹ It was, however, much admired as a work of art, and I would suggest that Mr. Garvin finds it unsatisfactory because he expects it to be something which it was not Camus' intention to make it—the novel of Promethean revolt.

Camus obviously intended *L'Étranger* to be read as the novel of the absurd. *Le Mythe de Sisyphe* was written at almost the same time, and was published a few months later.¹² Meursault's final outburst against the chaplain shows that he had understood before the novel started that "Aucune morale, ni aucun effort ne sont justifiables devant les sanguines mathématiques qui ordonnent notre condition."¹³ While *La*

⁹ Review of the translation of *The Sound and the Fury*, *NRF*, June and July 1939, pp. 1057-1061 and 147-151; reprinted in *Situations I* (Paris, 1945), pp. 70-81.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*, p. 197.

¹¹ Principal among the reviews which expressed doubts as to the value of the moral attitudes advocated in *La Peste* were Etiemble, "Peste ou péché," *Temps Modernes*, No. 26 (1947), pp. 911-920, and Pouillon, *ibid.*, pp. 921-929; J. J. Rinieri, *La Nef*, Aug. 1947, pp. 141-153; Bertrand D'Astorg, *Esprit*, Nov. 1947, pp. 615-621.

¹² *L'Étranger* was written in 1938-39, *Le Mythe de Sisyphe* in 1938-40.

¹³ *Le Mythe de Sisyphe*, p. 30; cf. *L'Étranger*, pp. 169-170.

Peste does echo many of the themes of *La Remarque sur la Révolte*,¹⁴ it is not primarily an illustration in terms of the novel of this metaphysical idea. In my opinion, *La Peste* is less important for the ideas which it expresses—and for its characters, although certain of the minor ones like the old man who spat on the cats and the retired draper do stick in the memory—than because in its style, its construction, and the excellence of its allegory it represents the modern myth of impotence and imprisonment. It is highly doubtful whether the novel of revolt, such as it is described in the passage “Révolte et Art” in *L'Homme révolté*, will ever consciously be written. Proust did not set out to do what Camus says that he did, and the novel which was intended as the correction of reality by art would, like Grand's, remain unwritten. Camus, in writing *L'Étranger*, did accept limits; he did not, for example, try to make of this novel all that he said, in *Le Mythe de Sisyphe*, that “le roman absurde” should be.¹⁵ It is my contention that he was equally as conscious of limits in *La Peste* as he was in *L'Étranger*. The reasons for the inferiority of *La Peste* to *L'Étranger* as a work of art lie perhaps in the fact that Camus, as his last two publications show,¹⁶ is simply more at home in a story told in the first person. This may account for the fact that Tarrou's confession, in addition to being at the center of his thought in *La Peste*, is the most satisfying extract from the novel from an aesthetic point of view.

Thus, in my opinion, the two most important things in Camus' use of Hemingway's technique are these: first that he adapted it to serve a specific purpose, and second that he did not find it sufficiently important to be used twice. *La Peste* obviously owes nothing to the American novel, and neither does Camus' latest *récit*, *La Chute. L'Exil et le royaume*, which is about to appear, is announced as containing short stories written in differing styles—ranging from the interior monologue to simple realistic description—and will clearly be a series of independent exercises in technique. Camus, like the other French novelists who at one time or another adopted an American technique of narration, did so quite deliberately, and abandoned it when it had served its purpose. Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, J.-L. Bory, Robert Merle, and Louis-René Des Forêts are all French writers who wrote only one book in an “American” style. After her use in *Le Sang des autres* (1945) of Faulkner's interior monologue and destruction of normal time sequences—highly reminiscent of *The Sound and the Fury*—Simone de Beauvoir returned to a far more conventional mode of narration in *Tous les hommes sont mortels* (1946). In spite of the fact

¹⁴ See my own article, “Albert Camus and *La Remarque sur la Révolte*,” *French Studies*, X (1956), 335-339.

¹⁵ As, for example, “donner au vide ses couleurs,” *Le Mythe de Sisyphe*, p. 154.

¹⁶ *La Chute, récit* (Paris, 1956); “L'Esprit confus,” *NNRF*, June 1956, pp. 961-978 (to appear in *L'Exil et le royaume*).

that *Les Mandarins* (1954) is dedicated to Nelson Algren, the only suggestion of a genuine American influence in the technique of this novel is an extremely informal and rather colloquial prose style. Sartre has not completed his series of *Les Chemins de la liberté*, but the third volume, *La Mort dans l'âme* (1949)—as well as the sections of the fourth part, *Drôle d'amitié*, which appeared in *Les Temps Modernes* in 1949—marked a movement away from the extreme simultaneity which was Sartre's principal debt to Dos Passos in *Le Sursis*. J.-L. Bory won the Prix Goncourt in 1946 with a novel, *Mon Village à l'heure allemande*, which showed strong influences of Dos Passos and Faulkner. In his next book, however, *Cher Aglaé* (1947), there is only as much "simultanéisme" as is demanded by the subject treated—the life of a country district as seen from the local train—and in *Fragile ou le panier d'œufs* (1950) there is no recourse to American techniques. Robert Merle seemed to owe much to Hemingway and Steinbeck in *Week-end à Zuydcoote* (1949), where a simple, vivid, direct, and unanalytical prose style admirably suited his description of war. In his next novel, *La Mort est mon métier* (1952), he changed to a more conventional technique in order to write a biographical and analytical novel. Louis-René Des Forêts appeared to have been inspired by Faulkner's use of the interior monologue in his *Les Mendiants* (1943), although in fact he had read only *Sanctuary* before writing it.¹⁷ He said that after writing the first novel he read all Faulkner and was much influenced by him. It is difficult to see how this is really the case, since his next work, *Le Menteur* (1946), although a triumph of technique, is totally dissimilar to any Faulkner novel.

The French novelists of the "metaphysical school"—Sartre, Camus, Simone de Beauvoir—adopted an American technique because it suited the expression of a particular idea on which they were working. Hemingway's style suited Camus because it could be used to show a world deprived of its normal anthropomorphic significance. Dos Passos' technique enabled Sartre to express the overpowering influence of contemporary events upon the life of twentieth-century man, and the inescapability of our historical situation. Faulkner's interior monologues and disrupted time scheme gave Simone de Beauvoir the opportunity to present the life of the hero of her novel in a series of rapid flashbacks, and thus to show how the idea of responsibility—the theme of *Le Sang des autres*—had existed at every moment from his childhood onwards. After they had used the techniques to express their ideas, Camus, Sartre, and Simone de Beauvoir altered their style to express different ideas. The same movement away from the American novel can be observed in the writers who adopted it to describe particular circumstances. Marguerite Duras was the only French novelist to be obsessed

¹⁷ See *Combat*, Jan. 4, 1947.

with the American novel, to the point of imitating Faulkner in *La Vie tranquille* (1945), Caldwell in *Un Barrage contre le Pacifique* (1949), and Hemingway in *Le Marin de Gibraltar* (1952); but her next novel, *Le Square* (1954), showed a much smaller debt to the Americans, without any falling-off in artistic excellence.

It is thus my contention that the inferiority of *La Peste* to *L'Étranger*—which, in any case, I find less great than does Mr. Garvin—is not due to the fact that Camus had forgotten what he had learned from the Americans. In common with other writers of his generation he learned some things from the Americans, but he *borrowed* far more. In studying the vogue of the American novel in France it is necessary, I think, to make a very clear distinction between what French critics said about it and what the French novelists who were supposed to have been influenced by it actually did. To judge by some of the remarks made in France between 1944 and 1949, French literature had become a mere offshoot of the American novel. What in fact had happened was that certain French writers were cleverly supplementing their own skill by borrowed techniques. Camus no more owed his success in *L'Étranger* to Hemingway than he did his “failure” in *La Peste* to Defoe, or Melville, whose influence he more openly acknowledged.

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BOOK REVIEWS

JOYCE AND AQUINAS. By William T. Noon, S.J. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957. xiv, 167 p. (Yale Studies in English, Vol. 133.)

Readers who have attempted to keep up with the vast amount of material on Joyce being published these days will not have to be told that, though there are almost as many interpretations of Joyce as there are interpreters, at least two opposing schools of thought have become prominent. The older and more traditional school tends to equate Stephen Dedalus with Joyce, emphasizes the alienation theme, and finds an affirmative meaning in the later works. This view, first advanced by such critics as David Daiches, Edmund Wilson, and William York Tindall, has been recently reinforced by the biographical researches of Richard Ellman, the conjectures of William Empson, and textual studies by such Joyce scholars as Julian B. Kaye, J. Mitchell Morse, and the present reviewer. The opposing school dissociates Joyce from Stephen, emphasizes the irony of Joyce's writings, argues that Joyce remained faithful to the Jesuit training of his youth, and sees *Ulysses* as a kind of *Inferno* depicting a lost, spiritless society. Headquarters of this second school would seem to be Yale University, where the emphasis on irony of W. K. Wimsatt and Cleanth Brooks has blended with the neo-Thomist interpretation of ex-Yaleman Hugh Kenner to form a body of "accepted" notions about Joyce that approaches the level of dogma. So adhesive is the group that the two most recent products of the school, Father Noon's *Joyce and Aquinas* and William M. Schutte's *Joyce and Shakespeare* (Yale Studies in English, Vol. 134), may be considered supplements to Hugh Kenner's *Dublin's Joyce* (Bloomington, Ind., 1956), a revision of his Yale dissertation. In view of its origin, however, Father Noon's book is something of a surprise.

Father Noon, himself a Jesuit priest, is well qualified to write the definitive study of Joyce's relation to Aquinas and Thomism. He brings to his study not only a wide and deep knowledge of scholastic philosophy, aesthetics in general, and the writings of Joyce, but also a scholarly objectivity and carefulness of method. The author assumes in the reader a ready knowledge of Joyce's work, makes few compromises with his subject or the ease of the reader, and refuses to oversimplify a complex problem. The result is a difficult yet rewarding study that bridges the gap between the two schools mentioned above and, in some respects at least, reconciles their differences.

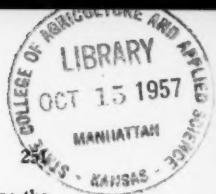
Father Noon seems to share the view of his colleagues that Joyce should be dissociated from Stephen Dedalus, at best a false artist, towards whom Joyce is deliberately ironic. He agrees too that, though there is no avowal of personal faith in Joyce's works, the later writings revolve around "a core of theological acceptance." But these subjects are only indirectly related to the specific subject of *Joyce and Aquinas*, and it is to Father Noon's credit that he does not allow questionable general premises about Joyce to interfere with his objective investigation of his particular problem. Because he does not weight the evidence in favor of what he hopes to find, he may be held personally responsible only for those conclusions which are the product of his own reliable scholarship. As far as the question of "theological acceptance" is concerned, however, the reader might well wish that Father Noon had widened his subject at least enough to offer substantial evidence in favor of his opinion that Joyce remained a believer in spite of the many appearances to the contrary.

BOOK REVIEWS

To prove Joyce's close reliance upon Aquinas and the Church Fathers as the main sources for his ideas about art would go a long way towards amending the traditional view of Joyce as an exile from his religion and thus help to substantiate the position held by the Yale Joyceans. After a thorough and careful investigation of the question, however, Father Noon concludes that, insofar as Joyce's "so-called Thomism . . . can be isolated it is a highly qualified derivative of St. Thomas Aquinas' thought." Father Noon discovers that there were few opportunities for the study of Aquinas in the schools Joyce attended, and, though he later made a fairly conscientious study of Thomist philosophy, there is in him "a misunderstanding, if not a wilful distortion, of the Aquinan points of view." Joyce never committed himself to the Thomistic system any more than he did to the Berkeleyan, Freudian, Viconian, or any other. Rather, he took from each system whatever jibed with his own needs as artist and produced a philosophy which is as original as it is derivative.

Most surprisingly, those aspects of Joyce's writings for which he did claim the authority of Aquinas—the theory of aesthetics presented by Stephen in the *Portrait* and the idea of "epiphany" formulated in *Stephen Hero*—prove to be less Thomistic than aspects of his thought for which he claimed no scholastic authorities. In his discussion of Stephen's aesthetic theory, Father Noon shows that, while Joyce uses certain texts of Aquinas as starting points, he develops his propositions in an individual, secular way that quite consistently diverges from Catholic doctrine. Father Noon's findings here have been mainly substantiated by several recent, independent scholarly articles on the same subject. As for "epiphany," the most overworked and misunderstood term in Joyce criticism, Father Noon disarms those of his colleagues who like to argue that the "real" Joyce is to be found in the discarded *Stephen Hero* and that Joyce's ironic view towards Stephen in the *Portrait* is demonstrated by his unwillingness to arm his hero with the potent weapon of "epiphany." Father Noon, on the contrary, believes that Joyce simply abandoned the spiritualized interpretation of "epiphany" when he discovered that it could not be expressed objectively and that, insofar as "epiphany" plays a part in Joyce's acknowledged writings, it is hardly more than a synonym for "symbol." The recent publication by the Lockwood Memorial Library of Joyce's *Epiphanies* lends support to Father Noon's claim that the original Joycean "epiphany" is inexpressible.

If the aesthetic theory is less Thomistic than Joycean and the "epiphany" was rejected by Joyce, can Joyce be considered in any way a follower of the Thomistic system? Father Noon finds three main themes in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* which owe something to the thought of Aquinas: the Trinitarian theme, the analogy between the creative artist and the creative God, and the idea of "root language." In his discussion of the first of these Father Noon is particularly revealing. He demonstrates convincingly that the celebrated theory of fatherhood advanced by Stephen during the Shakespearean discourse in *Ulysses* and the general dominance of the father-son theme in all of Joyce's works may have derived originally from those parts of the *Summa Theologica* in which he found the propositions about art developed in the *Portrait*. Making no claim for an absolute cause-and-effect source, Father Noon traces the post-Aquinas thinking on the subject of the Trinity, draws a contrast between the accepted scholastic theory and Stephen's adaptation of it, and admits that the Trinitarian theme in Joyce is constantly fed by tributary streams of thought and symbolism. This blending of sources is perhaps even more apparent in Joyce's use of the analogy between the artist and God, an analogy which has a long literary tradition (as M. H. Abrams' *The Mirror and the Lamp* has shown) more immediately available to Joyce than obscure Latin texts.



The reader wonders—as Father Noon seems to wonder—if the similarities between Joyce's thought and Aquinas may be little more than the natural similarities between two broad and inclusive philosophies in much the same way that Kantian philosophy often seems to blend with orthodox Catholic belief. To say this does not deny the importance of Thomism as one of the many influences at work on Joyce, perhaps the most natural influence in view of Joyce's education and his continual need to locate his own thought by placing it in relationship to the tradition against which he was partly rebelling. Father Noon, with admirable detachment, admits that the Thomist influence on Joyce was both negative and positive. An appreciative and sympathetic reader of both Aquinas and Joyce, he has managed to withstand the temptation to make them one. In spite of a few doubtful premises, a style that is sometimes more dense than the subject seems to demand, and an occasional misleading quotation out of context, Father Noon has written a modest scholarly study that deserves the admiration of all students of Joyce.

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JOYCE AND SHAKESPEARE. By William M. Schutte. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957. xiv, 197 p. (Yale Studies in English, Vol. 134.)

Dr. Schutte's book is concerned both with documenting some of the details of *Ulysses* in terms of the reading that lies behind them, and with relating the details of the overall organization of the novel. As a piece of documentation it is admirable. The appendices list the borrowings which Stephen Dedalus took freely from Brandes, Lee, and Harris to prop his exhibition narrative in the National Library, and group the Shakespearean quotations, adaptations of quotations, and allusions by sources and by the characters to whom Joyce assigns them.

There are some illuminating pages. One of the most striking deals with the motif of the panther. Dr. Schutte points out that Joyce knew Brunetto Latini's *Il Tesoro*, where he would have read how the panther destroys its mother's womb in its impetuous birth process: "The young when they have grown within the mother's body will not suffer themselves to remain there until the time of proper birth; rather they force nature so that they mutilate their mother's womb and issue forth in such a way that it can never bear her more young." In the light of this reference we can more richly understand Stephen's reaction to his mother's death and his psychological constellation; the significance of Haines' nightmare; and Virag's denunciation of Mary and the Roman centurion, Panther. Joyce intimates, we might roughly phrase it on the strength of Dr. Schutte's evidence, that the destruction of the mother is necessary to the Messiah's realization of his mission, and that accordingly *his* mother had to be lacerated in order that he could fulfil his mission as the Irish Messiah.

Equally informative is Dr. Schutte's explanation of the "Hosts at Mullaghmast and Tara." "The reference," he writes, "is to Daniel O'Connell, who in August 1843 was heard by an estimated 250,000 Irishmen at Tara and who in October of the same year was crowned at Mullaghmast. Oratory, Stephen feels, is all very well, but it is unrecorded and therefore evanescent." To this suggestive comment might be added a point that is sharply made by Gavan Duffy in *Young Ireland* (that book which was so important to Yeats's generation). In the *Young Ireland* view, 1843 was a fatal year in O'Connell's career; he let slip an opportunity to

lead Ireland in battle; he was content with oratory, failed to translate it into action. Perhaps Joyce is thinking of this when he writes of the tribune's "Dead noise" scattered to the winds.

Dr. Schutte is excellent on the "Khaki Hamlets" passage. He is judicious and attractive in his portraits of Lyster and Eglinton. It will be noticed, however, that all these examples are marginal to the theme of the book; and in fact there is only one passage directly on the theme which seemed to this reader to have equal radiance—a correlation of the "crooked smokes" of *Cymbeline*, as quoted in *Ulysses*, with "the smoke of praise" that rises out of the act of creation of the villanelle in the *Portrait*.

I am inclined to believe that Dr. Schutte's conclusions regarding Joyce and Shakespeare will not stimulate his readers as effectively as his marginalia, and that the reason lies in this: that, though he sets out to relate his material to a total view of *Ulysses*, he has adopted a mistaken view and frustrated the application of his findings. He apparently completed the book late enough to have the use of Richard Ellmann's *Kenyon Review* article of 1954, but not Empson's subsequent article in the same journal. Without the benefit of these two articles taken together, a critic cannot easily ask the right questions about *Ulysses*. As a result of their work, added to the work of commentators over nearly thirty years, we can see that *Ulysses* pivots on three central questions, which Joyce hunts and chivies like Denis Breen pursuing his libel action (and I suspect that he intends Breen as a caricature of his own tenacity). They are: (1) "What am I?" And this depends on a larger question, "What is an artist?" (2) "What is my wife?" This depends on a larger question, "What are women?" But, for Joyce's purpose, this is really reducible to "Are women ever faithful?" (3) "What is Ireland?" And this involves the question, "What are the English and the Romans?" since they are antithetical to Ireland, and the question "What is Israel?" since the people of Israel are analogous to the Irish.

Considered in terms of these questions, the Shakespearean passages, and the insights that Dr. Schutte offers, become perspicuously relevant. Stephen's exposition of Shakespeare becomes an account of the artist's life, and thus a prediction of the line of his own life. The same exposition supports the account of women given throughout the book, that they are incorrigible kindly strumpets. These two points are clear. But what about Ireland and the complex of Shakespearean allusions? Is there any connection? There is, and Dr. Schutte's work helps to disclose it. In particular, he has examined Joyce's use of the firedrake of 1572-74. In the facts that he supplies he sees evidence of Joyce's reading and Stephen's mental agility.

But we can go much further and relate his facts to the Irish national theme, in the following way. In Joyce's youth literary Ireland was seized with the legend of a new star of Bethlehem. From 1891, when a star fell over Parnell's open grave, a new Messiah was awaited. Joyce accepted this mythology, and, as we know from the John the Baptist image in the *Portrait*, saw himself as the Messiah. So in predicting the line of his life, Stephen connects Shakespeare with the nova in Cassiopeia—it is Joyce's way of saying that he will follow the Shakespearean pattern in this as in other respects. (Joyce was actually nine years old when the star fell over Parnell's grave, and Dr. Schutte points out that Shakespeare was nine years old when the firedrake was "quenched.") There was a new star in 1572 for the world-artist Shakespeare, and over Dublin in 1891 there was a new star for the world-artist who would liberate his country—spiritually.

While Dr. Schutte provides many relevant facts, he does not always provide the interpretations; nor is it easy for him to match his facts with his total view of *Ulysses*, which he has formed in decided opposition to the "optimistic" account

that has been built up, progressively, by Edmund Wilson, Tindall, Kain, Ellmann, Empson. The complexion of the novel for him is tragedy and failure, and one function of the Shakespearean material is to underline the failure. There is at first sight a certain appeal in this position. But I believe that the effect of the careful documentation in Dr. Schutte's book must be to condemn the very reading which its author promulgates. When he is writing at his most forceful, responding to the text and its statements, the bent of his writing is against his own view.

It is generally agreed that *Ulysses* is planned and articulated with beautiful coherence. Thus a test of any interpretation must be the ease and significance with which the major segments, such as the Shakespearean complex, fits into the total view the critic offers. Dr. Schutte's evidence seems to me to knit better with the "optimistic" tradition than his own view of the "horror" of *Ulysses*.

HERBERT HOWARTH

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DUBLIN'S JOYCE. By Hugh Kenner. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956.
372 p.

In the forty odd years that the major writings of James Joyce have been wandering in the critical wilderness, the versatile Irishman has been approached from all sides by all manner of critics. First were the days of blind protest and equally blind adulation. Then, in the 1930s and 1940s, came the years of patient explication and explanation of this or that segment of Joyce's work by the faithful. The attempt to evaluate the man and his writing, book by book, dominated the years immediately following Joyce's death in 1941. Finally, during the present decade, the status of a classic achieved, Joyce offers himself more and more as a focus toward which literary, social, political, and aesthetic histories may be directed; for this artist and his work are as central to the time as nuclear fission. No study of the age of anxiety can afford to forget the plight of Stephen Dedalus; no discussion of psychoanalysis or of the psychological novel can fail to take into account the phenomena of the "Circe" episode of *Ulysses*. All talk of the contemporary writer as exile, as city dweller, as iconoclast, or as prophet gets around eventually to Joyce.

Hugh Kenner's very interesting and stimulating study of Joyce's career makes use of most of these approaches, especially of intensive explication and extensive excursions into sociology and allied disciplines, with generally good results. Displaying a minuteness of detail and a remarkable grasp of the whole canon, Kenner relates one work of Joyce to another, and all the works to their author and to his Irish environment, with confident control. Sometimes the critic's desire to omit no bit of evidence, no conceivably relevant quotation, results in his laboring material which any casual student of Joyce is well aware of, as in his extended treatment of John Stanislaus Joyce and his literary counterpart, Simon Dedalus. There are, however, always a number of new insights to make reading familiar information worth while.

Mr. Kenner is most impressive when he writes of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and of *Finnegans Wake*. His revised "Portrait in Perspective" recalls to the reader Kenner's pioneer work in explicating, ingeniously as usual, the motifs of Joyce's novel of adolescence which, at first glance, seemed years ago not to require extended analysis. As for the *Wake*, even seventeen years after its publication criticism has scarcely scratched the surface beneath which lurk, as

Kenner tells us, DeValera, Lewis Carroll, and other heroes of that kidney. Mr. Kenner does more than a clever and intelligent job of exposing Joyce's interest in, reading of, and decision to use Carroll's subject matter and language. Going beyond that, moreover, he is able to show convincingly that Joyce found in the author of *Alice in Wonderland* and *Jabberwocky* both sanction and point of view for saying what he himself had to say. *Dublin's Joyce* is an important book if for no other reason than that it contains these sections on the uses to which Joyce put his reading.

The author seems to go out of his way to give his prose a nervous and eccentric quality. His exclamatory style and pseudo-scientific vocabulary put a strain on the reader, who has enough trouble with the intricacies of Joyce and wishes for a straight-forward critical presentation. Adding to the difficulty of smooth continuity is Mr. Kenner's habit of breaking up his chapters into compartmentalized pellets of information prefaced—two to a page, sometimes—by arresting captions. There is a certain piquancy in letting the eye focus on "THE NIXIE'S CHAMBER" or "PSEUDO-METAPHYSICS OF POST-KANTIAN MAN," but such diverting promises of things to come, in bold-faced caps, do not make for ease of concentration. Still, any student of Joyce who fails to go beyond Kenner's strained prose will miss an important addition to the steadily increasing body of Joyce criticism.

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THE MODERN POLISH SHORT STORY. By Olga Scherer-Virski. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1955. 226 p. (Slavistic Printings & Reprintings, Vol. V.)

It is to be hoped that the recent studies and symposia devoted to Mickiewicz, such as W. Weintraub's *Poetry of Adam Mickiewicz* and the volumes on *Adam Mickiewicz in World Literature* edited by W. Lednicki, have brought to the attention of English-speaking readers the highpoint of Poland's poetic achievement. But Polish artistic prose still remains an unknown quantity as far as most of Western literary scholars are concerned. Probably few non-Slavists are aware that during the last 125 years Poland has produced a number of distinguished and original practitioners of the craft of fiction, and, more specifically, of that exacting narrative genre—the short story.

In her present study, Mrs. Scherer-Virski surveys the development of the short story in Poland in terms of its evolving thematic emphases and narrative techniques. The conceptual framework for these analyses is set up carefully in two theoretical chapters concerned respectively with the structural characteristics of the short story as a distinct literary form and with its basic variants or types. Making constructive use as it does of Western discussions of the problem (Spielhagen, Muir, Bates) as well as Russian formalist contributions to the theory of prose, this section of the book will be of considerable interest to every student of narrative fiction.

The chapters which follow trace the fortunes of the Polish short story from the symbolism and irony-laden tales of the late romantic, C. K. Norwid, through realism, naturalism, and "Young Poland" modernism, down to the period between the two world wars. (At several junctures Mrs. Scherer's narrative is illustrated by translations of representative short stories by Norwid, Niedźwiecki, Zeromski). In this highly informative account much light is cast on interesting, but relatively little known figures such as Niedźwiecki, "the Polish disciple of Maupassant,"

and, incidentally, the only one among the writers under discussion whose reputation rested almost entirely upon his short stories. The chapter on the period of 1913-39, which bears the appropriate title, "Tradition and Experimentation," though inevitably sketchy and schematic, manages to convey some of the variety and vitality which characterized Polish prose fiction during these years.

Mrs. Scherer's exposition is lucid, though at times marred by awkwardness of phrasing. Some of her critical interpretations suffer from what strikes this reviewer as an excessive dependence on the typological scheme expounded in Chapter II. The division of short stories into those of plot, character, and setting is a useful descriptive tool. But it is scarcely necessary to point out that even the most viable typology has its limitations, and that classification is no substitute for structural analysis, let alone for critical judgment.

Yet, occasional overschematization is often the price paid for an attempt to survey briefly a vast and heterogeneous body of literature. Whatever its shortcomings, Mrs. Scherer's earnest and competent volume is a solid contribution to the study of Slavic literatures.

VICTOR ERLICH

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PUSHKIN'S BRONZE HORSEMAN. THE STORY OF A MASTERPIECE. With an Appendix including, in English, Mickiewicz's "Digression," Pushkin's "Bronze Horseman," and Other Poems. By Waclaw Lednicki. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955. viii, 163 p.

Few students of Russian literature will deny that Pushkin's *The Bronze Horseman* is one of the greatest and most significant narrative poems in the language. A marvel of dramatic compactness, this poetic tale encompasses virtually all the moral dilemmas of the later Pushkin and projected themes and symbols which were to haunt Russian literature for years to come. No wonder the poem has given rise to so many divergent interpretations. No wonder so many critics have felt the urge to revisit *The Bronze Horseman*, in an effort to re-examine its total meaning, which for over a century has stubbornly defied any definitive formulation.

Professor Lednicki undertakes another such reassessment of the great poem's psycho-ideological content by delving into the "historical, cultural, literary, and biographical" materials which went into its making. A substantially revised version of an earlier study, the present monograph is a product of many years of painstaking research in the life and work of Alexander Pushkin. Professor Lednicki knows and understands his subject too well not to be aware of the complexity of his task. He recognizes, in his own words, the impossibility of "reducing to one single 'central idea' the impression which this work awakens in the reader" (p. 5).

Lednicki's inquiry patiently disentangles diverse strands in the rich texture of the poem. Much light is cast on the literary antecedents of *The Bronze Horseman* —the echoes from other authors or literary traditions as well as "auto-reminiscences" from Pushkin's earlier works, an important aspect of what the Russian poet and critic V. Khodasevich calls Pushkin's "poetic economy." Drawing upon other relevant utterances by Pushkin, Professor Lednicki demonstrates the poet's deep-seated ambivalence toward Peter the Great and his creation, St. Petersburg, and shows the impact of the "gloomy, sullen and tragic" image of that city, which emerges from the main body of the poem, upon more recent works of Russian literature. Finally, he discusses with authority the parallels between Evgenii's

shattered dreams of personal happiness and Pushkin's own predicament, compounded of the poet's desperate quest for creative freedom and privacy and the impoverished nobleman's sense of injured pride.

All this heterogeneous material is handled with the combination of erudition and enthusiasm which we have come to expect from Lednicki. His knowledge of Pushkin scholarship is vast, his treatment of previous investigations, including some of his own earlier exegeses, is on the whole perceptive and critical. It is surprising, therefore, to find the following assertion: "both Blagoy and Bely, one through the 'sociology' of the works of Pushkin, the other through the 'dialectic' of Pushkin's rhythm, establish the deep ideological link of *The Bronze Horseman* with the Decembrist insurrection" (p. 14). It is legitimate, though not necessarily correct, to postulate a "deep ideological link" between Evgenii's short-lived revolt and the abortive libertarian uprising of 1825; but it is somewhat injudicious to cite as proof D. Blagoy's axe-grinding "sociology," let alone A. Bely's dazzlingly farfetched attempts to deduce an esoteric message from the poem's rhythmical pattern.

Professor Lednicki dwells at some length on the connection between *The Bronze Horseman* and Mickiewicz's *Digression*. This, of course, was to be expected. For one thing, Mickiewicz's scathing attack upon Petersburg is directly relevant to the "creative history" of *The Bronze Horseman*, as evidenced by one of Pushkin's own footnotes to the poem. For another, the personal and literary relationships between the two greatest Slavic poets has for many years engaged some of Professor Lednicki's best energies.

Few scholars can resist the temptation to exaggerate the importance of their favorite fields of interest. In the present study, Professor Lednicki seems determined to steer clear of this familiar pitfall and to keep the Pushkin-Mickiewicz theme in proper perspective. "For a complete understanding of *The Bronze Horseman*," he remarks sagaciously, "it is necessary first to set aside the strictly Polish view of the importance of Mickiewicz's suffering and the significance of Poland's catastrophe and enter into the life and being of the great Russian poet . . ." (p. vi). "The polemic character of *The Bronze Horseman* . . . is a somewhat secondary phenomenon" (*ibid.*). The force of these caveats is weakened by subsequent passages in which Lednicki marvels at the "unexpected courtesy" and "the impersonal character" of the poem's answer to Mickiewicz. One can readily agree that the attitude toward Mickiewicz which seems to underlie *The Bronze Horseman* is a far cry from the shrill partisanship of Pushkin's anti-Polish odes. But the trouble with these formulations is that they imply the very view of the poem which Lednicki disclaimed only a few pages earlier. If *The Bronze Horseman* is much more than another phase, however mellow and "pacific," of the dialogue with Mickiewicz, our author's surprise at Pushkin's "courtesy" is, at least in part, beside the point. The absence of direct attacks upon Mickiewicz in *The Bronze Horseman* is primarily a corollary of the "objective" narrative mode which lifts the poet's actual frustrations and perplexities onto a broader and impersonal plane.

Lednicki's apparent inconsistency here may be bound up with a larger problem—that of the relative importance of genetic and structural considerations. "The official content of *The Bronze Horseman*," says the author, "the facade of the work, indeed appears to be panegyric of autocracy. However, the substance of the poem becomes transformed when we place it in the light of the personal experiences of the poet" (p. 41). Once again the phrasing is somewhat misleading. It would be futile or doctrinaire to deny that an inquiry into *relevant* "personal experiences of the poet" can enlarge our understanding of the poem. Professor Lednicki's richly documented study proves this amply, if proof indeed were

needed. But is it necessary to go beyond the work in order to glimpse the "other side of the coin," the demonic, inhuman facet of Peter the Great? Or, to put it differently, is the meaning of *The Bronze Horseman* to be gleaned from its biographical antecedents?

The truth of the matter is that the dual image of the "miraculous builder" is implicit in the very structure of *The Horseman*. The "official" optimism of the prologue is sharply challenged, if not altogether negated, by the subsequent fatal encounter between the hapless Evgenii and the "Haughty Image." Pushkin's tragically complex vision found a perfect "objective correlative" in the dialectical movement of the poem, which Professor Lednicki rightly calls "one of the masterpieces of Russian poetry."

VICTOR ERLICH

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SHAFESBURY AND THE FRENCH DEISTS. By Dorothy B. Schlegel. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956. vii, 143 p. (University of North Carolina Studies in Comparative Literature, No. 15.)

No one would deny the dynamic impact of Shaftesbury's ideas upon the thought of the French Enlightenment, whether in the realm of aesthetics, philosophy, ethics, or theology. Nor would anyone hesitate to welcome a thoroughgoing study, long overdue, of the Englishman's deistic principles and their acceptance, modification, or rejection by French writers. The ideas of Lord Shaftesbury, along with those of Locke, Bolingbroke, Pope, Newton, and others, had an important effect upon the writings of this period and ought not to be ignored by students of the development of French thought.

Mrs. Schlegel's design in this monograph is not to treat all the ramifications of Shaftesbury's thought in eighteenth-century France in the manner of Paul Vérinière's *Spinoza et la pensée française avant la Révolution* or W. H. Barber's *Leibniz in France*. Instead, she limits herself to a discussion of Anthony Ashley Cooper's deistic principles, "not so much to show the influence of Shaftesbury's ideas in France, as to show the fate of his philosophy among the French" (p. vii). In carrying out this aim the author presents a useful (though incomplete) compendium of similarities and divergencies between the doctrines set forth in the *Characteristicks* and those expounded by four typical "disciples": Voltaire, Diderot, d'Holbach, and Rousseau.

This monograph is an attempt to raise Shaftesbury to the rank of prime source or catalytic agent responsible for many, if not most, of the ideas expounded by these four Frenchmen. The first chapter gives a very cursory summary of some of the English lord's basic principles and literary techniques, and sets the stage for "the dilemma created unwittingly by Shaftesbury in the Age of Reason when he opposed his personal brand of fervid deism to the near-materialism of his great friend and revered master, John Locke" (p. 11). It is impossible in the space of this review to give a coherent account of the fortunes of Shaftesbury's ideas at the hands of the four French writers discussed, since most of Mrs. Schlegel's chapters consist of series of *rapprochements* like these: "Voltaire, like Shaftesbury, seems to feel at this period [1766] that the tendency for good exists in a rudimentary state almost from birth" (p. 26); "Diderot's theory of evolution, which could very well have been suggested by Shaftesbury, although, in the main, the English lord was out of sympathy with the idea that any imperfection might exist at any time in a world created by a perfect deity, differs from Shaftesbury's

in two important respects" (p. 57); "As had Shaftesbury and Voltaire, so d'Holbach, too, takes joy in presenting the great Moses as a mere magician" (p. 93); "Emile then lives in nature; he is not to be subjected to 'those irregularities of behavior, which are known in courts and palaces,' that had been deplored by Shaftesbury" (p. 115).

Speaking in the most general terms, we may sum up what appear to be Mrs. Schlegel's conclusions as follows: Voltaire was aiming primarily at Shaftesbury in all his attacks against optimism, although he did turn from materialism to deism at the very end of his life. Voltaire's propagandistic efforts, along with those of Shaftesbury, were "partly responsible for the preparation of the Revolution" (p. 42). Diderot started out with premises similar to those of Shaftesbury, but, in the end, "Shaftesburyian deism has given way to atheism" (p. 63), bringing about "the bankruptcy of virtue" (the author's title for Chapter V). D'Holbach, though a mechanist, "arrives at the same practical conclusions as had Shaftesbury... In a negative way [he] contributed as much... to the rise of Romanticism as his former friend... Jean-Jacques Rousseau" (p. 98). It was the latter's influential embodiment of Shaftesbury's Platonism that led to revolutions in governments, education, and art. The concluding chapter sums up Shaftesbury's role as "one of the most helpful guide lines by which men made their stumbling way into modern times" as he "lifted from the souls of men the heavy burden of original sin by which they had been weighed down for centuries" (p. 130). This chapter also establishes tenuous links between Shaftesbury's skepticism and the Girondists, between his Platonism and "the Jacobin, Rousseau-Robespierre," between his optimism and Condorcet, and finally between his love of virtue and André Chénier—who, in his last poem, "exhorts Shaftesbury's goddess, 'Toi, Vertu, pleure si je meurs,' in protest against Robespierre's so-called Reign of Virtue" (p. 132). It should be pointed out that "Rousseau-Robespierre" belongs to an illustrious family, all of whose members bear hyphenated names: Zadig-Voltaire (p. 23), Bayle-Martin (p. 24), Voltaire-Evhémère and Diderot-Callicrate (p. 28), Philoxène-Shaftesbury and Ariste-Diderot (p. 55), Socrate-Diderot (p. 106), and Diderot-Danton (p. 131).

Unwittingly, perhaps, Mrs. Schlegel implies throughout her study that Shaftesbury was the *direct source* of all the ideas of the French deists, neglecting or glossing over obvious French sources in her constant preoccupation with the English lord. While she admits that "his ideas were similar to those already current in France" (p. vii), she gives us to understand that re-examination by the French of their own beliefs was brought about mainly by Shaftesbury's "arresting and polished" expression of these same ideas. Nowhere, however, does she analyze or even try to describe what she refers to in one place as Shaftesbury's "comprehensive and peculiarly fervid expression" of traditional French subject matter (p. 4).

One French writer is consistently neglected by Mrs. Schlegel. Obsessed with her Anglo-French parallels, she never even so much as hints at Pierre Bayle's existence in her discussion of atheism (e.g., p. 80, "D'Holbach feels with Shaftesbury that an atheist might, in fact, be even more moral than a Christian"). Bayle, along with many others, is left completely out of the picture when it is asserted: "*The French learned from Shaftesbury's example that they could criticize [the Bible] on the basis of its poor taste, its improbabilities, and its inconsistencies*" (p. 5, my italics). Similarly, the author is guilty either of ignorance or willful neglect when she gives Shaftesbury sole credit for the "technique of equating Christian superstition with heathen mythology" (p. 89).

One might argue, in answer to these criticisms, that the author is merely carrying out her announced intention (p. vii) of minimizing the question of in-

fluences or sources in order to emphasize "the fate of his philosophy" among the French writers of the eighteenth century. This would be a legitimate objection if Mrs. Schlegel did not go out of her way to insist upon Shaftesbury's decisive and direct impact upon the French. Since the author herself admits that Shaftesbury "borrowed much from the French of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (p. 4), she should have been more careful with her reckless allegations. The mere establishment of similarities between the ideas of Voltaire, d'Holbach, or Rousseau and those of Shaftesbury does not necessarily prove their indebtedness to the English writer. Even in the apparently obvious case of Diderot (who translated *An Inquiry concerning Virtue*), there is no evidence advanced to show that this omnivorous reader and distiller of other men's ideas received all of his Shaftesbury-like notions directly from his acquaintance with the Englishman's essays.

Mrs. Schlegel's lack of proof or evidence in this and other matters leads her to indulge in the most complete exercise I have ever encountered in the use of the modal auxiliaries *could have, must have, might have, and seems to have*, used with or without such qualifiers as *possibly, probably, conceivably, and perhaps*. After wading through several pages of the author's verbal hedging, the reader welcomes with a sigh of relief any straightforward and unmodified statement of fact. Typical concentrations of unfounded suppositions are to be discovered in her "proof" of the purported Shaftesburyian vogue in eighteenth-century France (pp. 8-10, fifteen such verbs); in her discussion of how Voltaire may have (or might have, or could have) possibly learned about Shaftesbury at a tender age (pp. 12-13, thirteen instances); and in her picturesque description of Rousseau's initiation into Shaftesburyian mysteries as he "sat at the feet of Socrate-Diderot" (p. 106, eight gratuitous assumptions in the space of twenty-four lines). It is to be emphasized that not only in these, but in many, many other cases besides, the author's wishful thinking is set forth without a single item of concrete evidence to back it up. Mrs. Schlegel *might have* done better to omit these numerous excursions into the realm of the *maybe* and the *perhaps*, and to confine herself to remarks which she could substantiate.

From time to time "parallels" are advanced to give these guesses the appearance of being reasonable conclusions, but certain of these rapprochements are not to be taken too seriously. When we are told that "the details of Shaftesbury's life and the personality of the English lord *seem to have fascinated Rousseau*" (p. 102, italics mine), we naturally would like to know the author's basis for such a statement. Here it is, exactly as she gives it: "Lord Bomston (in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*) is a most Shaftesburyian character. Just as Shaftesbury had been a member of the House of Lords, so Lord Bomston is an English *ministre*. Just as Shaftesbury had travelled in Italy, so did Rousseau's Lord Bomston. Just as Shaftesbury in Italy had continued his interest in the fine arts, so had Lord Bomston, though the art in each case is different. The former had become absorbed in painting, whereas the latter, like Rousseau, interested himself in music."

Unfortunately this monograph abounds in eyebrow-raising statements and generalizations whose accuracy, validity, or relevancy are open to serious question. We read that "Shaftesbury's daring and his urbanity *captivated the French* from the first appearance of his essays in England" (p. 6, italics mine), and that "the name of Shaftesbury *streaks through most* of the literature of the eighteenth century" (p. 10, italics mine). Voltaire's imprisonment in 1717-18 was "instigated perhaps by the Jesuits" (p. 15), while "Shaftesbury's benevolence was the motivating force behind Voltaire's propaganda" (p. 29). Scholars can now stop worrying about the apparent inconsistencies in Diderot's work, for "the key to Diderot's

character lies in his exploratory and inquiring mind, which would not allow him to retain any opinion unscrutinized" (p. 43). Students of æsthetics will be glad to learn that imagination and emotion are *feminine* qualities (p. 107). The most farfetched of all such assertions concerns Rousseau's memories of days spent dreaming in a little boat in the middle of the Lake of Bienne: "[he] wrote of them so exquisitely that he launched a flotilla of small craft in the poetry of the next century from Shelley to Rimbaud [!]" (p. 129). For more of this kind of thing one has only to open Mrs. Schlegel's monograph at random.

If *Shaftesbury and the French Deists* is a doctoral dissertation, it ought to be clearly marked as such in order that due allowance might be made for the shortcomings which seriously detract from its value as a scholarly work.

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LA POESÍA MÍTICA DE FEDERICO GARCÍA LORCA. By Gustavo Correa. Eugene, Ore.: University of Oregon Publications, 1957. v. 174 p.

Mr. Correa explains the purpose of his study (p. 5) as follows: "nuestra intención primordial ha sido la de tratar de examinar en la forma más objetiva posible la estructura artística de la obra con el fin de acercarnos con mayor aptitud a la fructificación de la experiencia estética que se deriva de su contemplación. El análisis del aspecto mítico de la poesía de Lorca ha sido una consecuencia obligada de esta actitud original." He has accomplished exactly what he intended. He makes a close analysis of the selected poem or play: the musical form, the voice of the speaker or singer, the more or less explicit story and setting, and the imagery and symbolism which give Lorca's work its unique power and scope. Thus he is led to certain recurrent symbols like the moon and the bull, and to certain archetypal figures—the Mother, the Child—which constitute the framework of Lorca's poetic world. This framework is of very ancient provenance, and it is what Mr. Correa means by the "mythic aspect" of Lorca's work.

The first chapter, devoted to the poems of the *Cante jondo*, is a most illuminating analysis of the basis of Lorca's art. Lorca began with folksongs like the *soleá*, the *siguiriyas*, the *sacra*, and in his own poems retained the form and the "controlled tension" of the traditional *coplas*. But this tension itself (p. 5) "radica en la vida misma del hombre amenazada permanentemente por una muerte sorpresiva y violenta en el vaivén de una ciega afectividad colectiva." Lorca's genius discovered in the very conventions of the popular music of Andalusia the passion, the fate, and even the implicit characters and stories of a recurrent folk drama. Mr. Correa's analysis shows us, in the early lyrics, the seed of Lorca's theater, in which narrative, plastic, and musical elements are developed with the greatest freedom, yet firmly held together by a strong and simple lyric line.

In Chapter II, "*Romancero gitano*," Mr. Correa shows how the narrative and dramatic elements become more explicit; and in Chapters III and IV, devoted respectively to *Bodas de sangre* and *Yerma*, he considers the flowering of Lorca's theater.

Both in the selection of the plays and in his discussion of them Mr. Correa sticks to his theme, the "mythic" or as he sometimes calls it the "cosmic" aspect of Lorca's work. The topics he treats in his study of *Bodas de sangre* are "La Madre y la Tierra," "El hombre y el cosmos," and "La sangre y la inclinación"; in *Yerma*, "El concepto del honor" and "El niño y el sentimiento de la maternidad."

The analysis is convincing, and (to me at least) freshly illuminating; Lorca was apparently more conscious and consistent in his use of ancient symbols than has hitherto been recognized. There is no doubt that Mr. Correa has revealed a central line in the whole series of Lorca's works. But the "mythic aspect" is, of course, not the only aspect of the plays. Mr. Correa is well aware of the ritual basis which gives the plays their powerful and original kind of movement—a controlled tension analogous to that of the *Cante jondo*—but he says little about it. He knows, of course, the Spanish basis of the drama, which gives the plays their sensuous richness, their moral actuality, and their actability; but, in accordance with the focus of his study, he does not investigate it. Perhaps the vital Spanish concreteness of Lorca's theater is more striking to an American.

Mr. Correa uses the *Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías* (in Chapter V) as the climax of his demonstration. It is in this chapter, apropos of the bullfight, that he investigates Lorca's "ritualismo," that more-than-individual sense of order and decorum which alone enabled Lorca to make his mythic world live in the temporally developed form of drama or lyric. What he says about the *Llanto* throws much light not only on that poem but on Lorca's basic inspiration. I do not, however, rate the *Llanto* quite so highly as Mr. Correa does; the many-sided humanity of Lorca's theater seems to me to embody his vision more naturally and concretely, and with less strain, than the *Llanto*.

Poeta en Nueva York provides (as he points out) an interesting test, both of Correa's thesis and of Lorca, who was obliged, in our up-to-date megalopolis, to face the dissolution of his ancient folk vision. Mr. Correa meets his test with success. He shows how Lorca's theme, in New York, was practically the "asesinato del mito," and the cognate dessication and fragmentation of the human entity, including the poet's own being. The ancient symbols of the mythic language which Lorca learned in his own country are transformed to bring out the death theme; but they remain the basis both of his art and of his human meaning. The English-speaking reader can hardly fail to notice, with the aid of Mr. Correa's explanations, how closely Lorca's vision of the United States and its culture resembles D. H. Lawrence's. They have, for example, a similar feeling for Whitman, compounded of admiration, pity, and horror.

Mr. Correa has defined the limits of his study with admirable rigor, and for that reason his book suggests far more than it states. And, inevitably, it raises questions which it does not purport to answer. How much, for example, did Lorca owe to the whole climate of symbolism? How much, on the other hand, did he owe specifically to Spain? For his colleagues in France or Ireland, though they invoked "myth," could not embody it as he did in lyric or drama. The whole notion of "myth" is difficult and suspect. Mr. Correa tells us that he follows Cassirer in this matter, together with certain studies of particular elements in Lorca's heritage of Mediterranean myth and symbol. But he does not try to define the notion very closely himself, and perhaps for that reason is sometimes too ready to identify the "mythic" with the "cosmic," forgetting for the moment that we live in a chaos of mutually exclusive cosmoes.

The few reservations which I have about Mr. Correa's book are of minor importance. It is a careful, deeply thought out, and exactly focussed study of one of the most rewarding poets of our time. It should be studied by all of Lorca's admirers, and it should be translated into English for the benefit of readers who do not yet know Lorca.

F. F.

Critical Approaches to Literature. By David Daiches. New York: Prentice Hall, 1956. 404 p.

The intention is clear: "To illuminate both the nature of literature and the nature of criticism, this book represents some of the more important ways in which literature has been discussed." These ways of discussing literature are presented by three interlocking anthologies: selected texts—ancient, English, the moderns; a history of criticism, Plato to Edmund Wilson; literary theory by a consideration of literary problems such as art and morality, criticism and scholarship, criticism and sociology, etc.

This is a lofty scheme and promises something needed especially at this time; for in this age of criticism there have been too few attempts at the panoramic, at consolidation. After a great many books including *The Novel and The Modern World* (1939) and *Virginia Woolf* (1942), both models of their kind, Daiches is a likely person to do this necessary work.

As always, Daiches' writing is fluent, lucid, and without apparent effort. Given the bulk of available material, this is a good omen; for incisiveness is of the essence, and so much must depend upon the quality of both the selections and the comments. There are, as promised, a wide number of "approaches": Dryden, Bishop Hurd, Johnson, Empson. There are sensible, even wise, insights into the work of the great public figures of literature and criticism; there are valid remarks, for example, about the less public academic critics who "consider it a duty to approve of everything, however inferior, provided it was produced in the past . . . whereas [these critics] would turn with contempt from [its] modern equivalent." The overall stance is conservative, I should say, and thus it is appropriate that Daiches refers most often to Sidney, Dryden, and Johnson.

As a qualification of his intentions "to illuminate," Daiches says that he is concerned with "method or attitude, and not whether [a selection] represents the author's total thought." And—italics his—"I am concerned . . . with the varying ways in which the art of literature . . . can be profitably discussed; I am not here concerned with critics as such or with the history of criticism as such." The method at bottom, therefore, is impressionistic, and indeed it could have been impressionistic and right; it seems to me, however, that the overall accomplishment is only eclectic, that broad taste becomes only a mode of evasion, and that the various approaches come only to indecision, which in the end is no position at all.

For example, on literary theory the book is evasive by offering "a variety of suggestions" that can be "expanded at will." On R. P. Blackmur, "The reader might ask . . . what are the advantages and the limitations of Blackmur's method, how consistently he uses that method, and to what kinds of writing they are most appropriate." At best such suggestions are only misleading; at worst they are an abrogation of the author's responsibility not so much to the reader as to Blackmur's work.

The anthology of texts is confined to ancient and English-American selections. Given the eclectic method, however, one could expect at least offhand discussion of continental influence, and yet Croce is mentioned only once, and Schopenhauer, Lessing, and Belinsky not at all.

One can speculate that the weakness of this book is not, fundamentally, the result of a faulty consummation of the scheme, or of wrong method. Rather it would seem that Daiches has but one style—the professionally urbane, that fluency of mind most at ease with opinions (as against ideas) oriented first towards the classroom and only secondarily towards the more demanding arenas of the intellect. If the materials at hand happen to intersect with what is a deceptively monolithic style, the result may be excellent, as in his *Virginia Woolf*; if the ma-

terials are in the realm of theory, or if they demand a sustained handling of ideas, Daiches seldom rises above the casual. A book on a similar subject comes to mind, Wellek and Warren's *Theory of Literature* (1949). By comparison, *Critical Approaches to Literature* is only a textbook, with all the temporary advantages of such an enterprise.

J. B. HALL

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MUSICAL INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN POETRY. By Charmenz S. Lenhart. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1956. 337 p.

The chapter headings of this book are informative: I, America's Musical Background. II, Seventeenth Century American Poetry. III, Eighteenth Century American Poetry. IV, Nineteenth Century American Verse. V, Poe and Music. VI, Walt Whitman and Music in *Leaves of Grass*. VII, Sidney Lanier. There follow 21 pages of notes, a bibliography of 13 pages, and a 10-page index.

It has long seemed to me that there should be a place for what the Germans call a *Selbstanzeige*, in which the author himself tells the reader about his brain child. This would be particularly appropriate in the case of researches which are nearly if not quite of pioneer character. Miss Lenhart's book could easily qualify for that type of review, for it is clear from her seemingly exhaustive bibliography that, as far as the English-speaking peoples are concerned, no one has ever attempted anything of the kind before. Like all pioneers, she has had to grope somewhat and feel her way; and it is no serious derogation of her book to say that at times one has the impression of a collection of material rather than a closely knit study. There is too much quotation of verse (some of it inferior) which does not really illuminate, there are some needless if minor repetitions, and there is an occasional straying from the point. One result of a collective procedure is what I call loose writing, e.g., "Bryant was our first serious critic, and the melodious quality of his verse pleased Poe" (p. 90). Both remarks are justifiable and pertinent, but they should not be linked in one sentence.

It is not Miss Lenhart's fault that the first three chapters seem rather thin. They are a necessary introduction to the major portion of her book (major both in space and weight), and it is merely debatable whether they might not have been condensed to advantage.

The solid meat of the investigation lies in the chapters dealing with Poe, Whitman, and Lanier, and here Miss Lenhart uncovers much that is both new and significant. She has ranged widely and scrutinized closely, and all three poets are illuminated by the facts she brings out and the inferences drawn from them. Particularly valuable, it seems to me, is her careful reading of Whitman's notebooks and some of his "uncollected" prose, especially "A Visit to the Opera," which Whitman did not publish. In the cases of Poe and Lanier, it would seem, their own theoretical writings have tended to divert attention from the musical aspects of their poetry as such, so that both the amount and the importance of the musical element has been underestimated.

Reading a study of this kind, which deals to such an extent with the intangible and the evanescent—for it is of the essence of a musical effect that it lacks duration, and of a repeated musical effect that it is completely subjective—the temptation to argue is almost irresistible. In discussing Poe's definition of the caesura, for example, which Miss Lenhart rightly calls "a little suspect," she goes on to say, "Usually the caesura appears in verse at the end of a line or at about the

middle . . . it means the extension of that syllable . . ." (p. 139). I think this statement confuses the end-line pause, which is a necessary function of the verse itself (and which largely accounts for the basic distinction between verses of different length in feet), with the mid-line break which is contrived by the poet as a rhythmic device. Also, the caesura is not an "extension" of anything—Miss Lenhart wrongly adduces as analogous the hold in music—but a pause with nothing in it, corresponding to the musical rest.

When she quotes "flowers ever" as illustrating Poe's "bastard" dactyl (p. 140), she does not make it clear that a foot in English (or German) verse cannot have more than three syllables. If we attempt to add a fourth syllable, either one syllable is slurred or elided (flowrs) or a secondary accent rests on the third syllable (flow-ers èv-er). The musical example which follows is misleading, for music is not bound by any such rule.

I should not agree that "Discord or dissonance in both cases [verse and music] results from a close juxtaposition of sounds too 'near' each other when sought in harmony" (p. 136). A remote dissonance is entirely possible, and is frequently heard in those great leaps of tone affected by some modern composers. Similarly, modern verse is capable of widely divergent dissonances of both thought and sound.

Finally, "an exact ratio of one to one-half in long and short syllables" (p. 142), which Miss Lenhart appears to accept here, though she disputes it elsewhere, is found today only in verse that is either sung or chanted. It is insufficiently realized that the Greek trochee was in 3/4 or 3/8 time, whereas our modern trochee is more nearly in 2/4 or 2/8 time. Apparently Poe did not fully sense this.

We are informed by the publisher that Miss Lenhart is pursuing her inquiry into the present century. It is to be hoped that, in connection with this investigation, she may be able to explore the inner melodic lines of certain living or recent poets—a matter which for understandable reasons has been almost entirely neglected. Data of this kind would afford a third dimension, as it were, for the viewing of a "musical" poet, all the more significant, perhaps, because most poets are quite unaware of the melodies they are writing into their verses.

Miss Lenhart has opened up—she is fully aware that her book achieves no finality—a promising new field for the critical study of poetry in English, and both the diligence and the acumen she herself has shown are highly commendable. Future workers in the dual territories of music and poetry will be both stimulated and aided by her work.

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SWAN, CYGNETS, AND OWL: AN ANTHOLOGY OF MODERNIST POETRY IN SPANISH AMERICA. Translations by Mildred E. Johnson, with an Introductory Essay by J. S. Brushwood. Columbia: University of Missouri, 1956. xii, 199 p. (University of Missouri Studies, No. XXIX.)

The appearance of new translations of Hispanic literary works is greeted by Hispanists with both gratitude and apprehension. Since Spanish letters have not enjoyed sufficient prestige to encourage widespread study of the Spanish language by those interested in literary criticism, new translations such as these become the only contact with Hispanic literature possible for many readers; consequently the quality of the translations is of the utmost concern to those who wish to promote among critics a greater understanding of Spanish and Spanish American literature. Fortunately, in this collection, the fine essay of Mr. Brushwood tempers the disappointment with the translations.

The selections include the best-known poems of the period "from about 1885 to 1936" and, though limited in number (sixty-six), are representative of the nature and direction of modern Spanish American poetry. Twenty-two poets are represented, all of recognized merit. Accompanying the poems are short biographical sketches of the poets.

The introduction (33 pages) traces briefly the character of Spanish American letters before modernism, then discusses this movement within the framework of three "generalized statements as to what Modernist poetry has been . . . : 1. A refinement of Romantic expression. 2. A reaction against Realism. 3. A coming of age in Spanish-American poetry" (p. 5). The judgments are, in general, representative of the current view of the modernist movement, and are presented with a clarity and economy of expression that is regrettably infrequent in Spanish American criticism. In his discussion of the emergence of the new poetry Mr. Brushwood fails to mention, however, the part that the "new humanism" of the late nineteenth century played in the development of the modernist attitude. The reaction against the sterile literary efforts of the academicians and the belated "neo-neoclassicism" which dominated much of the literature of the 1870s and 1880s was certainly as violent and catalytic as the rejection of realism, and deserved mention. The discussion of modernism proper concludes with brief commentaries on the various poets.

Mr. Brushwood's observations are penetrating and sensitive; his claim that "Silva relied to a large extent on the creation of an impression and in general cared relatively little for form" (p. 18) contradicts, however, an earlier statement (p. 7): "there is no doubt that [Silva] was keenly conscious of the form of his work . . ." Others would agree that "Nocturno II" reveals a very intense preoccupation with form as a connotative element of expression. Objections may also be raised to the comment that "before Dario, the artist, was able to face the world in which he lived or even to face himself, he first found it necessary to retreat completely from reality and build himself a world of vague dreams, of clouded beauty, of feigned animation, and of joy or sorrow which were in no way the product of an intellectual process" (p. 20). Mr. Brushwood's choice of words is unfortunate since the success of modernism and of Dario in particular is in large part the result of the intellectual nature of the modernist's critical approach to his own poetry. The autocritical attitude, which is intensely intellectual, is the element in modernism which is primarily responsible for the "refinement of Romanticism," and the element which immediately distinguishes romantic from modernist poetry. Mr. Brushwood has dangerously equated "intellectual" with "philosophical" or has used the word, improperly, as an antonym of "emotional."

The concluding section of the introduction, "Poetry since Modernism," is a discussion of contemporary tendencies and the poets that exemplify them. The judgments on the poets are accurate and remarkably informative, considering the very brief space which the essay allows. It is to be hoped that Mr. Brushwood will continue to publish the results of his studies; the inclusion of his essay here is sufficient justification for the publication of the collection.

The translations, unhappily, do not sustain the quality set by the introduction. The translator¹ explains in the preface the procedure she has followed:

"In my translations I have attempted to reproduce the ideas and imagery expressed in the original without omitting any or adding any of my own. A freer translation would probably be more artistic but would lack fidelity. I have also attempted to employ the same verse form with the fewest possible modifications . . . I have usually employed the same number of syllables in each verse as in the Spanish."

¹ Miss Johnson published an earlier collection, *Spanish Poems of Love* (New York, 1955), 64 p., which includes poetry of both Spain and Spanish America.

The error which pervades the entire collection and which contributes most to nullify the very considerable efforts of the translator lies in her interpretation of "fidelity." The fidelity to which she feels the "artistic" must be sacrificed includes fidelity to the image, the literal meaning, and the verse form, when, in reality, fidelity to the original can only result when the translation reproduces as accurately as possible the total experience of the original, thereby becoming the most "artistic" translation possible. Apparently Miss Johnson attempted to seek a middle ground between the frequently inaccurate and rhetorical renditions characteristic of Blackwell and the literal translations of the Hays and Fitts collections.²

The insistence upon "fidelity" leads, furthermore, to a serious technical misjudgment, that of attempting to duplicate the syllabic length of the original line. Inevitably any attempt to cast a poem in the form of another language and still retain the effects of meter and rhyme is extremely difficult. Moreover, the equality of syllables does not necessarily produce lines of equal weight; in fact, the Spanish hendecasyllable, for example, tends to seem shorter than its English counterpart. More serious, however, is the fact that the attempted duplication has led to frequent padding, which greatly weakens most of the translations. The constant recourse to "quite," "so," "just," can only be explained by the need for another syllable. The demand for rhyme in turn leads to tired "bright-white" combinations. One of Miss Johnson's potentially most successful translations, Silva's "Nocturno II," will serve as an example of both her success and her failure:

"On a night,
On a night full of murmuring sounds, sweet aromas, and music of wings ;
On a night
When fantastical fireflies were shedding their glow in the deep nuptial shadow,
At my side with slow step, pressing closely against me in silence and pallid,
Just as if a presentiment, warning of infinite bitterness,
Were disturbing you down to the most secret depths of your being,
Or the pathway bedecked with bright blossoms, that crosses the plain,
You were walking . . .

There [our shadows] projected by rays of the moon,
On the sorrowful sands
Of the path were united,
And were one,
And were one,
And were one single long drawn out shadow,
And were one single long drawn out shadow . . ."

(Page 61)

² The collections referred to are: *Some Spanish-American Poets*, trans. Alice Stone Blackwell, introd. by Isaac Goldberg (Philadelphia, 1937), 559 p.; *12 Spanish American Poets*, ed. with introd. by H. R. Hays (New Haven, 1943), 336 p.; *Anthology of Contemporary Latin-American Poetry*, ed. Dudley Fitts (Norfolk, 1942), 667 p. These anthologies are bilingual, the last two dealing principally with post-modernist poets. Other unilingual collections are available (those of Thomas Walsh and E. W. Underwood's translations of Mexican poetry), but they are of questionable value. The best translations of Spanish American poetry are those of G. Dundas Craig, *The Modernist Trend in Spanish-American Poetry* (Berkeley, 1934), 347 p. This is a bilingual edition and contains detailed discussions of many of the poems translated. The introduction while adequate is somewhat dated, many of the judgments having since been discarded by Spanish American criticism.

The opening lines convey well the images, tone, and rhythm of the original; disappointment comes with the intrusive "just" of the sixth line and again in the final lines quoted. The colloquial echo infuses a note of humor which eliminates the possibility of further serious reading. Some may argue that the original line "y eran una sola sombra larga" borders on the excessive, but Miss Johnson's fidelity to syllable count has led to the ludicrous. Apart from this, the translation is accurate, though the closing lines of the poem suffer also; and here there is no apparent reason for the weakness. Silva's line reading, "se acercó y marchó con ella" is rendered, "Drawing near, walked beside it." The severity of the preterit form is lost in the English participle. The sharpness of the Spanish verb is significant, since the last third of the poem is clearly dominated by the finality of sound and meaning inherent in the preterit and by the effect of "Sentí frío" and "el frío de la nada." The line could as easily read "Drew near and walked beside it" with no loss of syllables.

These and other examples reveal sporadic inadequacies which prevent accurate reproduction of the originals. The translator is most successful with the poets who represent the tradition of simplicity of expression—Martí, González Prada, Nervo, Banchs, Arrieta, and Arévalo Martínez. Other renditions of merit are Nájera's "Para Entonces," Herrera y Reissig's "Julio," and, perhaps the most successful of the collection, Casal's "Nihilismo," where the literal meaning, mood, tone, and meter are reproduced with exceptional fidelity.

Many of the poems contained here do not appear in other collections and—with Mr. Brushwood's essay—will prove useful, provided the reader approaches them with more than the usual caution which translations demand. The original texts are conveniently printed opposite the English versions.

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FORM UND INNERLICHKEIT. BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE UND WIRKUNG DER DEUTSCHEN KLASSIK UND ROMANTIK. By Werner Kohlschmidt. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1955. 269 p.

This is a collection of ten remarkable studies based on the best type of combined German "Geistes- und Stilgeschichte," written in a fine spirit of moderate Protestantism. With keen perspicacity Professor Kohlschmidt judges his authors (Goethe, Novalis, Stifter, Mörike, etc.) according to the "Möglichkeit, das natürlich-menschliche Dasein vom Gottesgedanken her in Frage zu stellen, und einen mindestens sich grundsätzlich andeutenden Anerkennung der Todesstimmung des Menschen sub specie aeternitatis" (p. 229).

In his arguments and very cautious conclusions there are no loopholes. We may see as factors in his judgments the great disillusion due to the German catastrophe (p. 158), a certain liking for Kierkegaard, a general involvement in existentialism; but he remains convincing in his demonstrations that modern nihilism, i.e., the breakdown of Christianity, humanism, and values has its roots, along with the reign of egotism, sensuality, and fear of death, in romanticism—with its *Zeitlehre*, *Langeweile*, *moralische débauche*, and *Weltangst* ("Nihilismus der Romantik," pp. 157-176). This study is a parallel to Mario Praz' *Romantic Agony*.

One of the last to strive for a humanistic synthesis of antiquity and Christianity, a sort of latter-day Erasmus, was the Goethe of "klassische Walpurgisnacht und Erlösungsmysterium in Faust II" (pp. 97-119). The structural correlation

of the two scenes proves for Professor Kohlschmidt that at the end of his life Goethe was willing to add to the Promethean "strebenden Bemühen" of the Greeks the Christian Grace—wherefore the text says only "*den können [not müssen] wir erlösen.*" But for his view of Christianity Goethe needed to call to his aid the strongly disliked Catholicism, interpreted as a form of Pelagianism, and—horrible dictu—the conscious exclusion of Christ and the introduction of Mary, good enough to serve Goethe's aesthetic-erotic purposes: "Mythos aber nicht Gebet" (p. 116). Every author from Stifter to Rilke exhibits a different use of Christianity and a different escape from it into nihilism. The nihilism is generally cloaked in a pseudo-Christian language, but each camouflage has an individual shading which is recognized and pertinently characterized in Professor Kohlschmidt's book.

A formal study of such a verbal camouflage is "Der Wortschatz der Innerlichkeit bei Novalis" (pp. 120-156). Novalis certainly secularizes the language of the mystics and of the eighteenth-century pietists; but Kohlschmidt's study is too lexicological to be readable, and should have taken into account the two rich studies on German mystical language by Grete Lüers (Munich, 1926) and Kurt Berger (Berlin, 1935).

"Die symbolische Formelhaftigkeit von Eichendorffs Prosastil" (pp. 177-209) offers a sampling of topics (almost in Curtius' sense) for which formulas are possible, and considerably undermines the thesis of the radical subjectivity (i.e., lack of social-literary conventions) of romanticism.

The most important study is the first, on "Winckelmann und der Barock" (pp. 11-32), which demonstrates that Winckelmann, despite his theoretical rejection of baroque art (mainly the mannerism) and his famous formulation of the ideal of Greek art, "*edle Einfalt und stille Größe,*" is himself deeply rooted in the baroque and that his alleged classicism is as much baroque as, say, a century earlier that of Boileau, who in theory fulminated against Tasso although involved in the very same type of art. Winckelmann's baroque-majestic concept of Homer upset Goethe's more idyllic concept and discouraged him from working out his Nausicaa fragment ("Goethes Nausikaa und Homer," pp. 33-49).

The four remaining studies are no less illuminating. They deal with Goethe's humanitarian concept of Pandora (two articles), and with Stifter and Mörike on their way towards nihilism.

H. H.

ROMAIN ROLLAND AND A WORLD AT WAR. By William Thomas Starr. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1956. xiv, 223 p.

The Socialists of Europe left the meetings at Bâle in 1912 with the conviction that they had talked and manifested each other into being aggressive resisters of those regarded as war makers within their respective countries. But, when war broke out, internationalism defected en masse to nationalism, with the German Socialists (including Hauptmann) in the lead. Jean Jaurès received the reward of assassination for his convictions. Anatole France finally broke his silence, but only after the bombing of the cathedral of Rheims, by writing a letter that ended in an exhortation to treat the Germans as friends when the war ended. This residue of Socialist generosity brought on him condemnations so scathing and pressures so menacing that the old man, though over seventy at the time, volunteered his services as a soldier. In lieu of the military services he was unable to render, he substituted his talents as a writer. The only really distinguished man

of the time who did not disavow his gods in one way or another was Romain Rolland.

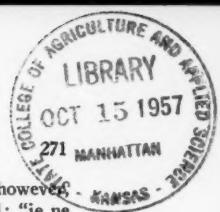
Dr. Starr in *Romain Rolland and a World at War* studies in great detail and with discriminative critical appraisals this important phase of the career of the author of *Jean Christophe*. The author says in justification of the need for this book that "most writers have been content to refer to *Au-dessus de la mêlée*, allowing it to represent and to explain Rolland's position 'above the struggle' in a spirit of pacifism, of justice, of fraternal feeling for both of the opponents and for all men. But more detailed studies are lacking." His previous researches, published and unpublished, have prepared Dr. Starr to undertake an expert dissection of the attitudes of the most controversial internationalist of our century. His doctoral dissertation, *Romain Rolland's Internationalism*, appeared in the University of Oregon Thesis Series in 1939. *A Critical Bibliography of the Published Writings of Romain Rolland* was published in the Northwestern University Studies in 1951. "Romain Rolland and Russia" appeared in the *Romanic Review*, April 1949. In the present study the author was particularly fortunate in being given permission by Mme Marie Romain Rolland to quote many extracts from unpublished letters.

Dr. Starr divides his study into fourteen sections, the titles of which do not always indicate rigorously the scope and nature of the content. The book is solidly documented and tightly reasoned, and the issues are objectively and clearly disengaged, weighed, and judged with scholarly and critical discernment. The chapters "Temperament and Reason," "Europe and Rolland," "Au-dessus de la mêlée," "Rolland, Russia, and Revolution," and "Rolland and the United States" impress the reviewer as being particularly well conceived and presented. Through these and the other parts of his study, the author expertly conducts the reader down the *vía dolorosa* of the "harried idealist," and introduces and explains Romain Rolland's thinking, actions, personal relations, polemics, despairs, and hopes during the tragic years of World War I.

But, preliminary to the tour, he orients his readers in his introductory chapter, "Temperament and Ideas." What kind of a man was this who would dare to put a humanitarian principle above the emotive pull of love for *la Patrie* and the tragic consequences for his country that defeat would bring? The author answers: "A religious socialist, an anti-clerical mystic, a revolutionary idealist; a Christian who rejected the dogma of the Christian religions, and a socialist who disliked the socialists for their economic materialism. He insisted on international co-operation, condemned violence and hatred, and felt the keenest anxiety over the fate of his invaded country while refusing to admit the national state as a rational, true, and necessary entity."

The other idealists of Europe professed similar principles but did not believe in them firmly enough to counterbalance the pull of emotion and of nationalistic pressures. Rolland's determination not to participate in the conflict set an example of integrity which proved offensive to his former friends and infuriated his compatriots. To assert that the cause of the French was of the highest and that the worst enemy of Europe was Prussian imperialism and yet to refuse to throw his prestige into the scale on the side of his native land, admitted by him to be morally in the right, made him appear to be intellectually and emotionally confused, and a cowardly escapist. The French called him a "pro-German," "traitor," "pacifist," "defeatist." To the Germans he was a "French nationalist" and a "militarist." Moreover, his German critics asserted that he had never understood Germany, as was apparent in the Gallic soul he had put in *Jean Christophe*.

Rolland welcomed the Bolshevik revolution as a triumph of the brand of idealism which he thought would eventually liberate the souls of men from hate and



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cleanse them for international fraternal communion. He soon discovered, however, that "les plus révolutionnaires ne sont pas les moins tyrans" and stated: "je ne vois que des gens qui cherchent à supprimer la liberté des autres..." He refused to accept Communism in the role of a political partisan. As a result, Professor Starr notes, "ardent Communists such as Barbusse accused him of lukewarmness; less enthusiastic Russophiles saw in him a too zealous defender of a revolutionary country; the conservative bourgeoisie regarded him as the advocate of an essentially evil regime." In a letter to Stefan Zweig (March 16, 1921) Rolland wrote that Noël Garnier, secretary of *l'Humanité* and principal promoter of the review *Clarté*, had declared recently to a mutual friend, Jacques Mesnil: "Quand nous aurons fait la Révolution, une des premières choses que nous devrons faire, ce sera d'enfermer entre quatre murs Romain Rolland."

Rolland wrote to Zweig (July 5, 1915) that his humanitarian initiatives had irritated both French and Germans. "Je ne réussis qu'à me faire accuser par chaque parti d'être gagné à la cause de l'adversaire." How could one expect a different reaction to a man who believed in Socialism but not in militant action; in Christianity but not in its organized expression; in country but not in its economic institutions, military defenses, or nationalistic prejudices; in freedom but not in defending it with violence; in the Germany of Goethe and Beethoven but not in German *Kultur*; in the mission of the United States but not in its material expression; in intellectual action for peace but not in serving on organizational committees; in Communism but not in the dictatorship of the proletariat? How could an important figure like Rolland, espousing views that menaced the vested interests or polemic positions of so many groups, fail to be distrusted by all, violently attacked by many, and defended by only a few friends? Never has a personality served better to illustrate the truth in the German saying, "Wer nicht für mich ist, ist gegen mich."

Was Romain Rolland a consistent or integral pacifist? A. R. Lévy (*L'Idéalisme de Romain Rolland*, Paris, 1946) contends that he was not; and in support of his contention quotes, among others, the following statements: "Si l'U.R.S.S. est menacée, quels que soient ses ennemis, je me range à ses côtés" (p. 230). "Non, je ne dis pas avec Bertrand Russell: 'Tout vaut mieux que la guerre'" (p. 269). "Le pacifisme ne saurait être 'placé au-dessus de tout'" (p. 269). Rolland condones "l'alliance nécessaire dans le combat contre la guerre et contre le fascisme, des Non-Violets, des Non-Acceptants Gandhistes, des Objecteurs de Conscience avec les partis de la Révolution." M. Lévy observes that Rolland considered it one of his obligations to try to bring about a "rapprochement entre ces deux formes de l'action Révolutionnaire"; "Non-violence ou violence, par les deux voies, sur ses deux pieds, d'un pas égal, marche et s'approche la Révolution. Ce sont deux rameaux du même arbre" (p. 233). M. Lévy comments: "Voilà, donc, les moyens d'action qu'il conseille à ses frères intellectuels. Mais comment! Celui qui a toujours exigé, avant tout, un respect rigoureux de l'indépendance de l'Esprit, et qui a exhorté les intellectuels à la maintenir intacte en refusant de céder à la force brutale, il leur demande maintenant de coopérer avec cette même force?" (p. 233). "Such a charge," Dr. Starr admits, "is of course partly true, but as we have tried to show, Rolland's pacifism was not of the Tolstoyan variety, but was extremely active, positive and in the tradition of Gandhi's non-violent resistance... Keenly sensitive to injustice and deeply aware of the brotherhood of man, he was drawn in diverging directions by his double nature."

The evidence adduced by Dr. Starr would seem to indicate that Romain Rolland was never, in reality, "above the conflict," however much he wanted his action to be "on a theoretical and ideal plane." He explained in a letter to Mlle Madeleine Rolland (Dec. 24, 1915) that he had a double personality. The one,

he says, "a toujours été désireuse de tranquillité, de solitude et d'affection . . . Et l'autre personnalité n'a pas cessé de me mettre en conflit avec les autres . . ." The seesawing of these natures could keep him from physical participation in political, military, and revolutionary struggles; but it could not and did not deter him from adopting attitudes of preference which in effect equated with a positive, perhaps patriotic, partisanship. He feared, for example, that the triumph of the Bolsheviks would detach Russia from the alliance. "The result would be to increase the likelihood of France's defeat, misery, and woe." For this reason he warned Guilbeaux against being overly jubilant at the prospect of a Bolshevik victory (Starr, pp. 145-146). He criticized Guilbeaux for revealing the low morale of the French troops in an article published in *Demain* (June 1917). Professor Starr summarizes Rolland's reactions in these terms: "Rolland was convinced that such revelations did grave injury to France (against Guilbeaux's desire, to be sure, he added), to those who speak for France, and to the very cause that Guilbeaux desired to serve" (pp. 159-160).

That Rolland did not remain idealistically nonpartisan is, in this reviewer's opinion, entirely to his credit. To paraphrase existentialist thinking, a man must make a choice because not to make a choice is in itself a choice. Therefore, reflective and intelligent pacifists can hardly, with stubborn consistency and just for the sake of peace for peace's sake, set the cult of peace above all other values. For the same reasons that persons sensitive to concepts of honor may often prefer death to debasement, the pacifist under certain conditions may conclude that the maintenance of peace at any price diserves rather than promotes the fundamental principles for which he stands.

Like Romain Rolland, Georges Duhamel has dedicated a good deal of his life to the cause of peace. His reaction to World War I, in which he served as a surgeon for four years, can be found in *Vie des martyrs*, a tender and solicitous tribute to the morally and physically maimed whom he came to know and to love in the hospitals. After the war he traveled over Europe making pacifist speeches. In 1924 he wrote: "Je refuse à la guerre, en toute circonstance, mon assentiment et ma collaboration" (*Europe*, July 15, 1924). Then fifteen years later, we read in *Positions françaises* (pp. 59-60):

"La guerre, quoi qu'il arrive, serait non seulement un échec pour la pensée de toute ma vie, elle serait non seulement la négation de mon œuvre; mais elle m'atteindrait sûrement dans tout ce que j'aime au monde. Et c'est bien pourquoi je dis: que les pacifistes résistent, qu'ils s'arment pour résister. Tout le reste à l'heure actuelle, n'est que sophisme, sottise, fausse manœuvre, erreur tragique."

The Romain Rolland of the 1930s, who disavowed Gandhism as a practical means to attain peace in the Occident, held essentially the same attitude.

The case of Romain Rolland is unique in historical perspective and, in this age of evolving and consolidating nationalisms, is not likely to recur. The crematoriums of Nazi Germany, the dictatorial ruthlessness of Stalin and his successors, the aggressive and troublesome nationalisms of countries which have freed themselves from foreign occupations, the vindictive spirit of old nations in the Far East awakening to the industrial age—all these and other developments have turned most idealists of the Romain Rolland kind into tired liberals, mellow or bitter cynics, jittery neurotics, happy lunatics, or resigned or aggressive nationalists. And yet never in its history has the world stood in greater need of the understanding, international good will, brotherly love, and peace that formed the moral fabric of Romain Rolland's philosophy of life.

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D. H. LAWRENCE: NOVELIST. By F. R. Leavis. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956. 393 p.

In his essay on "John Galsworthy," D. H. Lawrence declares that "literary criticism can be no more than a reasoned account of the feeling produced upon the critic by the book he is criticizing." For, as Lawrence puts it, "the touchstone" in criticism "is emotion, not reason." If, as the author of *The Rainbow* insists, "a critic must be able to feel the impact of a work of art in all its complexity and its force," and if, further, "a man who is emotionally educated is rare as a phoenix," then we may have here at least a partial explanation of a quarter century of critical obtuseness with regard to Lawrence which F. R. Leavis alleges.

Eschewing the delight of the New Criticism with etymologies, with precise patterns and ingeniously convoluted symbolic mosaics, Professor Leavis prefers the role of a man talking to men—but talking about books with a robust enthusiasm and a close knowledge of the Laurentian canon which is generally more than convincing. As in *The Great Tradition*, of which the present book is but an extension and an elaboration, the author is concerned with demonstrating the "depth, range, and subtlety in the presentation of human experience" in Lawrence in order to establish his place "as one of the major novelists of the English tradition"—the culmination of a line which begins with Jane Austen. Mr. Leavis' task—one to which his talents are well-suited—thus becomes the reprinting of generous portions of Lawrence's texts interrupted at intervals by acutely intelligent insights of an emotionally educated critic.

Though the book is not a biographical study, the author is often able to illuminate the life of his subject by reference to the works, and, at times, to show what Lawrence meant in a novel by returning to the man. Thus he offers the interesting thought that Lawrence's excessive attachment to his mother, if seen in relation to its important place in the author's creative life, may not have been the "misfortune" for him which most critics deplore. Leavis finds in *The Rainbow* abundant evidence of Lawrence's full catharsis of this experience through the novelist's ability to use his prodigious intelligence to impersonalize (as he could not do earlier in *Sons and Lovers*), and make high art of, this central fact of his life. At the same time, however, Leavis takes issue with such critics as John Middleton Murry, who are too willing to see in Lawrence's books merely the working out of the author's psychological problems. It becomes the overriding purpose of Professor Leavis to show that, though Lawrence's art is "the diagnosis of the malady of the individual psyche," it can, and at the moment of his greatest artistic successes does, become the diagnosis of the "malady of a civilization."

Enthusiasm, however—the sensitive critic's anxiety that his readers "feel the impact" of Lawrence's art—forces Leavis into an insistent reiteration of superlatives, the appropriateness of which is patently unprovable. That Lawrence is "our last great writer," that he is "the great writer of our own phase of civilization," that he is "one of the very greatest" novelists of all time, that he is in the novel "as remarkable a technical innovator as there has ever been," or that he is "the greatest kind of creative writer"—all these pronouncements, even when individual pages from the author's works are adduced as evidence, do not, in their amorphous vagueness, do justice to their subject. How is the reader to deal with comparative "greatness"? How does one demonstrate, however much one may feel it to be true, that Lawrence "would repay endless frequentation as Joyce would not"? And if, as Leavis does, the critic praises the snow-death symbolism of *Women in Love* as it enriches the psychological examination of one character, and, beyond that, reveals the social malady of civilization, how is one to compare this with the "greatness" of Joyce's "The Dead," which as early as 1907 was using like symbols

in order to present the neurotic and decaying Gabriel Conroy as representative of the Irish nation and culture to which he belonged?

Apparently recognizing that he protests too much, Professor Leavis presents, in extenuation, his belief that contemporary criticism has been unfair to Lawrence, that it has accused him of lacking intelligence and artistic discretion, and that, even in its praise, it has lauded him for the wrong reasons. The critic blames the heavy weight of T. S. Eliot's influence for the direction which evaluation of Lawrence has followed, and, in this book, is obsessed with a determination to refute the poet. More than is necessary, perhaps, the very form of Leavis' book is determined by Eliot's strictures. The long introduction and the generous appendix are devoted to attacks on Eliot's misguided judgments. The author arbitrarily devotes a chapter to "Lawrence and Class" in order to show that, while Eliot may be a snob, the poet is wrong to call Lawrence one. The chapter on "Lawrence and Tradition" attacks Eliot's statement that the novelist wrote without a sense of English tradition.

This apportionment of space and attention is Leavis' business; besides, it has the value of affording a sharp opponent at which he may direct his fire. Less excusable, perhaps, is Leavis' willingness—eagerness, at times—to refute Eliot on a purely personal level. Granted that, as Leavis says, Lawrence is a "greater genius" than Eliot, it seems beside the point to show that Lawrence had a better education than the author of *The Family Reunion*. I do not know what is to be gained by sneering at Eliot's boyhood religion ("in what ways does Mr. Eliot think Unitarianism superior?"), simply because Eliot sneers at Lawrence's. To compare the social training ("Harvard manners") of both men seems unfruitful critically. And to gloat over an imagined review by Lawrence of Eliot's *Cocktail Party* is quite beside the mark.

When the author sticks to a close reading and evaluation of Lawrence's text, however, as he does throughout most of the book, the reader knows that he is in the presence of a sensitive critic as "rare as a phoenix."

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DAS LITERARISCHE TAGEBUCH. STUDIEN ÜBER ELEMENTE DES TAGEBUCHS ALS KUNSTFORM. By Albert Gräser. Saarbrücken: West-Ost Verlag, 1955. 142 p.

The author of this dissertation had two aims in mind: to investigate the much-neglected "diary as art form" in European literature as a whole and, at the same time, to provide a preliminary study for a comprehensive history of the diary. The basic question appears to him to be whether diary literature can actually be brought under the caption of an art form. Gräser rightly rejects any methodology based exclusively on content. On the other hand, a critique founded on purely formal aesthetic considerations is also faced with difficulties, such as the fact that the generic concept "diary" is still a somewhat vague and incompletely determined category. The author's own investigations, as they appear in this study, are based on a close reading of over thirty diaries of the last hundred years. He arrives at the conclusion that a progressive understanding ("fortschreitendes Verstehen") of the category must bear in mind two things: first, that the diary as art form can only be comprehended with constant consideration of its *geistesgeschichtliche* connections; and, second, that modern literature is firmly bedded not merely in the national but in the whole European climate. Wherever possible, therefore, his diary specimens have been selected with regard for their more representative catholic range from several literatures.

The first chapter deals briefly but adequately with backgrounds, with the

history of the diary form from antiquity through the Middle Ages down to the present. Decisive for its development, in the author's opinion, was the turn towards autobiography, born of the spirit of humanism and substantially fostered by the Reformation. Hamann's little known *Diary of a Christian* two centuries later (1758) is regarded as anticipating the religious records of Kierkegaard and Tolstoy in the nineteenth century. Gräser makes some very fine points in connection with the *Tagebücher* of Hebbel as a precursor of Kierkegaard in pointing up the fatal rift between theodicy and nihilism, bringing into question the critical status not only of man but of God. Thus step by step the diary in our latter days has grown into an organ to express the existential crisis which currently prevails.

The more important second chapter is dedicated to a close analysis of five leading diaries in modern European literature: Kierkegaard's *Buch des Richters*, Tolstoy's *Alterstagebuch*, André Gide's *Journal 1889-1939*, Ernst Jünger's *Strahlungen*, and, finally, Kafka's *Diaries*. With Kierkegaard, the author finds, the emphasis falls on the factor of isolation, conditioned by the diarist's youth, which led ultimately to the realization of the type of religious writer par excellence. In the case of Tolstoy the stress is on truthfulness; with Kafka, on the personal problems of self-presentation; while Gide in his diaries, like Hebbel before him, furnishes a protoform out of which springs the bulk of his other creative work. Jünger's diaries seem to be initiated by factors in the world outside rather than by inner cogencies; they therefore furnish more of a specifically historico-literary record than one of confessional inwardness. Particularly illuminating is the manner in which Gräser traces the analogies and similarities *inter se* as the several diarists develop their own literary form.

His final chapter deals with theory, specifically with the theory of the diary as a special form of expression. Here his methodology starts from the basis supplied by Staiger's *Grundbegriffe der Poetik*. Gräser gives plausible reasons why the diary cannot be assigned to the lyric category, even less to the dramatic; its real affiliations, he suggests, are with the epic, though here again numerous discrepancies and deviations are manifest. The main difficulty seems to be that the diary as art form is a transitional type, both in language and in style.

This interesting study is intended merely as an introduction to a more comprehensive survey, which, in view of its significance for comparative literary studies, scholars will have every reason to welcome.

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THE DIVINE COMEDY OF DANTE ALIGHIERI. Translated from the Italian into English triple rhyme by Geoffrey L. Bickersteth. Aberdeen: University Press, 1955. xvi, 395 p.

THE DIVINE COMEDY. By Dante Alighieri. Translated and edited by Thomas G. Bergin. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955. xiii, 348 p.

THE COMEDY OF DANTE ALIGHIERI THE FLORENTINE. CANTICA I, INFERO. Translated by Dorothy L. Sayers. **CANTICA II, PURGATORY.** Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1949, 1955. 346, 390 p.

THE INFERO. By Dante Alighieri. A verse rendering for the modern reader by John Ciardi. Historical introduction by A. T. MacAllister. New York: New American Library of World Literature, 1955. 288 p.

It would seem to me that the reader of a translation would be first concerned with how accurately he is getting what the original says; for it is only when this

condition is satisfied that the meter, rhyme, and tone of the translation will have any true basis for expressing what these same qualities express in the original. Without a considerable portion of the *sense* of the author's words, the rhyme, meter, and tone of the translation amount to little more than virtuosity. Professor Bickersteth, Miss Sayers, and Professor Ciardi have each sacrificed some of Dante's meaning to these formal ends, even though the demands of the English do not otherwise make it necessary. Each has allowed these more formal qualities of poetry to dictate in some degree the amount of sense conveyed.

Of the three, Professor Bickersteth has set himself the most ambitious task in the rendering of the formal qualities of Dante's verse in English. He demands of his translation that it carry out the interlocking rhyme scheme of Dante's *terza rima*, and seeks to approximate the rhythm of Dante's lines with the six-beat English line. At best, this is only a somewhat vague analogy to the effect we get from reading the Italian; and what leaves the reader sadder is that Professor Bickersteth is forced, by the formal demands he adopts for his translation, to give up so much of the precision, the delicacy, and the simplicity with which Dante conveys his meaning—perhaps though, under the burden of the verse form in which Professor Bickersteth has chosen to write his translation, it is not possible to give us more of Dante in English. I think the opening of Canto XXXIII of the *Inferno*, where Ugolino is gnawing at the neck of Archbishop Ruggieri, is one of the places where the demands of the rhyme and the meter interfere least with the quality of the poetry:

"Lifting his mouth up from the savage feast,
that sinner wiped it on the hair of the head
which in its hinderpart he had laid waste."

And then 'Thou wilt that I renew' he said
'a hopeless grief, which but to think of, ere
I speak thereof, weighs on my heart like lead.'

But if my words are to be seeds to bear
fruit of ill fame unto this traitor whom
I gnaw, I will with tears the truth declare.'

Often Professor Bickersteth is not as successful as this, and the attempt at rhyme and meter in English seems hardly worth the sacrifice of poetry he makes in achieving it—as in the opening of the *Inferno*:

"At midpoint of the road we mortals tread
I came to myself in a dark wood, for there
the way was lost that leads us straight ahead,"

or at the conclusion of the *Paradiso*:

"The high-raised fantasy here vigour failed
but rolling like a wheel that never jars
my will and wish were now by love impelled."

Professor Bergin, on the other hand, has put off considerations of rhyme, meter, and stanza form to gain the latitude by which he can express more of Dante's meaning in his words. His translation is in many places quite a faithful reproduction of what Dante says; yet, even where he is most accurate, Professor Bergin feels it necessary to change Dante's words in what seems to me to be only an attempt at making the translation his own. This awkwardness attracts more attention to itself because there seems to be no general rule behind the changes that he makes; they

seem almost to be arbitrary and without any consistent and overriding grasp of the *Comedy*. In short, Professor Bergin's work has about it no distinct tone. This uneven style leaves us dissatisfied even when he is at his best in giving us what Dante has written.

Where St. Thomas describes the lady Poverty, as she is married to St. Francis, in the eleventh canto of the *Paradiso*,

"Questa, privata del primo marito,
"She, deprived of her first husband,
mille e cent' anni e più dispetta e scura
a thousand and a hundred years and more,
despised and obscure
fino a costui si stette senza invito
until this man, remained without invitation.

Nè valse udir che la trovò sicura
Nor did it avail to hear that he found her secure
con Amiclate, al suon della sua voce
with Amyclas, at the sound of his voice
colui ch' a tutto il mondo fe' paura;
who to all the world gave fear;

Nè valse esser costante nè feroce,
Nor did it help to be constant and ferocious,
si che, dove Maria rimase giuso,
so that, when Mary stayed below,
ella con Cristo salse in sulla croce.
she rose with Christ on the Cross.

Ma perch' io non proceda troppo chiuso,
But in order that I may not proceed too obscurely,
Francesco e Povertà per questi amanti
Francis and Poverty as these lovers,
prendi oramai nel mio parlar diffuso.
grasp now in my diffuse speech.

La lor concordia e i lor lieti sembianti
Their concord and their joyous countenances

amore e maraviglia e dolce sguardo
love and wonder and sweet looks
facieno esser cagion di pensier santi;
made the cause of their sacred thoughts;
tanto che il venerabile Bernardo
so that the venerable Bernard
si scalzò prima, e retro a tanta pace
first took off his shoes, and back to such a peace
corse, e correndo gli parv' esser tardo."
ran; and running, it seemed to be slow."

Professor Bergin gives us :

"Bereft of her first husband she had stayed
 A thousand and a hundred years and more
 Scorned and obscure, unwooed until he came.
 Nor did it profit her that men had heard
 How she was found with Amyclas, secure
 Against that voice which all the wide world feared
 Nor yet to have shown such fierce constancy
 That even when Mary stayed upon the ground
 She mounted up with Christ upon the cross.
 But lest I go on in too dark a style,
 Henceforth in open speech pray understand
 These lovers as Francis and Poverty.
 Love and amazement and affectionate glance
 Made of their concord and their happy air
 A source of holy thoughts, so much that first
 The venerable Bernard cast away
 His shoes and ran pursuing such a peace,
 And though a-running thought his step too slow."

The changes in Dante that the different idioms of *unwooed*, *a-running*, and *pray understand* involve are but traces in one of Professor Bergin's best passages of a tendency that leads him to be as bad on occasion as when, in the opening of Canto XXXII of the *Purgatorio*, Dante describes his looking at Beatrice :

"Tanto eran gli occhi miei fissi ed attenti
 "So fixed and intent were my eyes
 a disbramarsi la decenne sete,
 to satisfy their ten years' thirst
 che gli altri sensi m' eran tutti spenti."
 that my other senses were all extinguished."

This comes out in Professor Bergin's translation as :

"So fixed in concentration were my eyes,
 Longing to slake ten years' enduring thirst,
 That all my other senses were benumbed."

Or, when Dante first addresses Adam in the *Paradiso*,

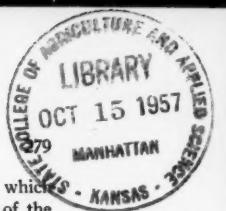
"... O pomo, che maturo
 "... O fruit, that mature
 solo prodotto fosti, o padre antico,
 alone wast produced, o ancient father,
 a cui ciascuna sposa è figlia e nuro."
 to whom every bride is both daughter
 and daughter-in-law."

Professor Bergin makes it :

"... O fruit unique
 Sprung forth mature, O ancient sire of all,
 Father and groom's sire to every bride."

The slaking of the ten years' thirst, the numbing of senses that do not involve touch, and the change of daughter and daughter-in-law to "father and groom's

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sire?" seem wholly gratuitous when we consider the sense of the Italian in which they occur; they do not seem primarily directed at enforcing any aspect of the meaning—as most modifications by translators seek to do—but seem rather highly self-conscious alternatives to Dante's way of saying the thing. They seem directed at making the translation more personal and individual, not at getting to the deeper sense of Dante's words.

But even where Professor Bergin gives way least to his desire to make his translation "new," and where the words are a pretty accurate statement of what Dante says, I still feel dissatisfied with the work that he has given us. The rendering of Dante in the long stanza form of *Paradise Lost* or some of Robert Lowell's poetry does more to destroy the sense of Dante than at first might be apparent. For the long stanza, to be effective, requires the unifying force of precisely delineated speech, highly worked syntax, or immediately related imagery. Dante works by others means: speeches are often cryptic and allusive; his syntax, if not always simple, is not of the involved type that would sustain a long stanza; and his imagery often intuitively bridges great gaps in logic.

If we look at the first quotation I have taken from Professor Bergin, we see how necessary it is to have a slight pause—to let our emotions catch their breath—between the image of Poverty lying in Amyclas' arms, under the threat of Caesar's fearful voice, and the image of her rising with Christ on the Cross. Professor Bergin tries to blend these images into the continuity of the stanza by leaving out the punctuation between them, but this is not enough; we need the stanzaic break of the *terza rima* to allow our emotions to recover from one and prepare for the other. Dante has built his stanza form to express and secure this rhythm of the sense. A serious reader is further troubled by the unevenness of the translation when he comes to the Paolo and Francesca episode done in rhyme and meter, and when he comes to those places in the *Comedy* where Professor Bergin thought a prose summary adequate treatment of the poetry. He says in his introduction: "Canto IX of the *Inferno* has been given in prose; it is a canto of exposition and such a version seems not unreasonable. Various passages have been summarized: these are generally speaking catalogs of names, passages dealing with Florentine figures of little interest to the contemporary reader, and, in the case of the *Purgatory* and *Paradise*, dogmatic disquisitions." It is this failure to see the extent of the subject matter which Dante's poetry handles, and the sources of our intellectual life upon which it draws, that mars generally the translation which Professor Bergin has given us.

For the most part, Miss Sayers and Professor Ciardi have demanded of their translations that they be done in good idiomatic English. They know that, if we are to capture the sense that Dante made to his contemporaries, we cannot translate him in what seems to us today a stilted, highly mannered, pseudoreligious form of English, as so many have done. The language must be the idiom of the day, as Dante's was that of his day.

But the admirable flow of Miss Sayers' diction often becomes clogged by her fondness for the rare and the antiquated word, and by her insistence that Dante speak a more Biblical language to Virgil and the people he meets on his journey than he does to us. Although she gives up the attempt at meeting the syllabic demand of Dante's *terza rima*, or turning it into the dull regularity of the English hexameter as Professor Bickersteth chooses to do, Miss Sayer retains the almost insuperable burden (if we are to do justice to the other qualities of the poetry in English) of the interlocking rhyme scheme.

Professor Ciardi makes a much better job of reproducing the text in the diction and idiom of our present day. With a feeling for poetry which Miss Sayers lacks, though I think she is better in the strongly idiomatic spots, he gives us an *Inferno*

that captures the peculiar combination of strength, delicacy, and straightforwardness that characterizes Dante's verse in this part of the *Comedy*. The only formal quality of the Italian he keeps is the rhyme of the first and third lines of each tercet. For tone, clarity of image, and feeling of movement, Professor Ciardi's attempt is a striking success. He is at his best, for example, in the following passage from Brunetto Latini's famous and moving speech to Dante, as his old teacher now met on the burning plain of the sodomites :

" . . . 'Follow your star, for if in all
of the sweet life I saw one truth shine clearly,
you cannot miss your glorious arrival.'

And had I lived to do what I meant to do,
I would have cheered and seconded your work,
observing Heaven so well disposed toward you.

But that ungrateful and malignant stock
that came down from Fiesole of old
and still smacks of the mountain and the rock,

for your good works will be your enemy.
And there is cause : the sweet fig is not meant
to bear its fruit beside the bitter sorb-tree.

Even the old adage calls them blind,
an envious, proud, and avaricious people :
see that you root their customs from your mind.

It is written in your stars, and will come to pass,
that your honors shall make both sides hunger for you :
but the goat shall never reach to crop that grass."

In these lines Professor Ciardi has given us to an amazing degree the quality of emotion caught in limpidity and forcefulness that is peculiarly Dantean.

The verse Miss Sayers writes has a hard-placed toughness about it; her words tend to stay in place, and they are always chosen to heighten the cruel, the frightening, or the lurid when it is present at all in the scene that Dante puts before us. As a result, she is best where Dante is at his toughest; as where he describes those without conviction in the antechamber of Hell :

"The scum, who'd never lived, now fled about
Naked and goaded, for a swarm of fierce
Hornets and wasps stung all the wretched rout

Until their cheeks ran blood, whose slubbered smears
Mingled with brine, around their footsteps fell,
Where loathly worms licked up their blood and tears."

Or where Dante describes his first sight of those who trade in public offices :

"O then I turned, as one who turns about,
Longing to see the thing he has to shun,
Dares not, and dares, and, dashed with hideous doubt,

Casts a look back and still goes fleeing on :
And there behind us I beheld a grim
Black fiend come over the rock-ridge at a run.

Wow! what a grisly look he had on him!
 How fierce his rush! And, swimming with spread wing,
 How swift of foot he seemed! how light of limb!"

However, when we compare the raw material or objectified sense of Miss Sayers' and Professor Ciardi's lines with the lines of Dante that they are intended to express, our pleasure is disturbed. For both Professor Ciardi and Miss Sayers have for no apparent reason, other than perhaps the demands of rhyme, left out or changed much of the sense of Dante's lines. When in Canto V Dante asks Francesca:

"Ma dimmi: al tempo de' dolci sospiri,
"But tell me: at the time of the sweet sighs,
 a che e come concedette amore,
to what and how did love concede,
 che conoscete i dubiosi desiri?"
that you should know the dubious desires?"

we get from Miss Sayers:

"Tell me—in that time of sighing-sweet desires,
 How, and by what, did love his power disclose
 And grant you knowledge of your hidden fires?"

and from Professor Ciardi:

"But tell me: in the time of your sweet sighs
 by what appearances found love the way
 to lure you to his perilous paradise?"

Or when, in her beautiful answer, Francesca says:

"... Nessun maggior dolore
"... No greater pain
 che ricordarsi del tempo felice
than remembering happy time
 nella miseria; e ciò sa il tuo dottore."
in misery; and this your doctor knows."

Miss Sayers gives us:

"... The bitterest woe of woes
 Is to remember in our wretchedness
 Old happy times; and this thy Doctor knows;"

and Professor Ciardi:

"... The double grief of a lost bliss
 is to recall its happy hour in pain.
 Your Guide and Teacher knows the truth of this."

The loss of turning the delicate and expressive ambiguity of "dubious desires" into "perilous paradise" or "hidden fires" is obvious. Clearly, we unnecessarily thicken and cloy "dolci sospiri" when we turn it into "sighing-sweet desires." And "the bitterest woe of woes" or "the double grief of a lost bliss" is not the same as "no greater pain." Even adding "there is" to "no greater pain" as so many do, destroys the quality of suddenness of these words, interpolated between Dante's

question and Francesca's answer as if bursting forth helplessly from an overfull spirit. And surely everyone can understand the necessity of giving us the poignant "dottore" as "doctor," when taken in the context of the misery of Francesca's words.

When Professor Ciardi attempts the famous "la bocca mi baciò tutto tremante," he knows that it says, "[he] kissed my mouth all trembling"; but he translates, "[he] breathed on my lips the tremor of his kiss"; this gives the passage a Hollywood-like focus, sentimentalizes it. Miss Sayers renders the simple and moving conclusion of this episode:

"Mentre che l'uno spirto questo disse
"While the one spirit said this

l'alto piangeva sì, che di pietade
the others wept so, that with pity
io venni men così com' io morisse."
I failed as if I were dying."

as:

"While the one spirit thus spoke, the other's crying
Wailed on me with a sound so lamentable,
I swooned for pity like as I were dying."

She has here substituted, for one of the true expressions of guilt through empathy and compassion in literature, a screeching doggerel that only succeeds in fatiguing.

Both she and Professor Ciardi, in the passages quoted, attempt to make clearer to the reader an aspect of the verse that they have perceived. In doing this they are acting as interpreters or critics, not translators, availing themselves of the license of the critic to focus more sharply on his point through exaggeration. But the value of their work as translation suffers.

A translator should be as neutral and impartial as possible in expressing the total demands of the words of the text; we want, not the particular overtone or emphasis of the words the translator thinks he feels in the text, but what he *knows* they mean in the language as the author is using it. His work will then provide what essentially is required of a translation—to give the reader an authoritative text with which to do his own reading. If Professor Ciardi had gone about his work with the humility that lies in the realization that his author knew best what words he wanted, Professor Ciardi's Ulysses would not have urged his men on to "manhood" and "recognition," but in the words that more eloquently express the inadequacy of the pagan values for Dante, "strength" and "virtue" and "acquaintance." And Miss Sayers would not have told us at the close of the *Purgatorio* that Dante is "Pure and prepared to leap up to the stars"; Dante himself tells us that he is "*disposto a salire*"—prepared to rise or climb to the stars, and the whole *Paradiso* is at one in confirming this.

I hope that the passages which I have used to illustrate my reservations about these translations have not been niggling in themselves, and have indicated with fairness the shortcoming I see in the greater part of each translator's work. Professor Bickersteth and Professor Bergin do not yet consistently demonstrate a grasp of poetry adequate to cope with Dante; and Miss Sayers and Professor Ciardi, though endowed with their own particular poetic faculties, have still to free themselves from the limitations which their rhyme and self-consciousness as translators put upon their aptitude—and it is very genuine in both cases—for getting at the sense of the *Divine Comedy* that is possible in English. Though what they

have done are the best things in verse that we yet have, we can still hope for a better day.

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RELATIVIST & ABSOLUTIST: THE EARLY NEOCLASSICAL DEBATE IN ENGLAND.
By Emerson R. Marks. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955.
xi, 171 p.

This little volume—it is heavily leaded and therefore briefer than the pagination implies—announces a young scholar from whom we shall probably hear, and will surely welcome, more. The author intends his book to have two interests, and I should say it has. As to content, he treats the growth of relativist arguments, of which he concludes, "I have tried to investigate their origins, to distinguish their kinds, and to relate them to several contemporary cultural forces during the period from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries" (p. ix). One might add that, as the title indicates, the volume is restricted to what happened in England, that the comparative comments are few, and that the material mainly concerns the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, roughly from Thomas Rymer to John Dennis. The volume aims, also, at exemplary interest. "The history of criticism . . ." Mr. Marks suggests, "might profitably be written from the point of view of recurring issues rather than in terms of the peculiar characteristics of the critical writing of successive periods. The present study is an essay (in the older sense) at doing this for one chapter of that history . . ." (p. xi).

Mr. Marks, it is fair to assume, does not here imply that no attention has been given to the recurrence of issues, including critical issues. The mere listing of critical distinctions like realism and romanticism, romanticism and classicism, idealism and rationalism, is evidence that critics have been aware of issues, and that to a degree the undulations and recurrences of ideas and attitudes have attracted critical attention. Furthermore, a quickened concern with the history of ideas, of schools of art and thought, of the tides of taste—and to a degree relativism is all of these—has become so instinct in the scholarship of our time that the history of ideas has become the History of Ideas.

Mr. Marks does not employ the techniques recommended by Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy; his materials incline to the belletristic, and he studies them for the intellectual position, expressed or implicit, of the critic. But his book will have for many readers its most enduring interest as part of the history of a complex of temperament, idea, taste, and artistic conviction comprised in the term relativism. If the history of critical issues is nothing new, Mr. Marks is quite right in feeling that much of it has been written incidentally, and that it might well be written deliberately. Historians of thought have tended to associate ideas with those who held them and with the times that entertained them, and thus to write horizontally rather than vertically in time, looking before and after only when they have to. We could welcome more critics and historians of criticism who look deliberately before and after.

Mr. Marks is at his best in distinguishing between relativistic and related ideas, distinguishing within relativism and absolutism themselves, and clarifying the position of the various critics within the tendencies he defines. He notes, for instance, the distinction between critical relativism and historical criticism. He observes that relativism of ends and means appeared variously in various critical mavericks, that the traditionalists shifted toward an absolutism of means when an absolutism of ends became obviously untenable. He notes that Dryden, like

many another, started an absolutist, indulged relativist leanings, but ended essentially absolutist. He is aware that the relativist-absolutist debate is still lively, although neither relativism nor absolutism is philosophically tenable, and that middle grounds are likewise hazardous.

Mr. Marks tries not to adjudicate but to delineate. The lines he draws are roughly these: relativism, having continental roots, appears sparsely among the Elizabethans and becomes prominent as the seventeenth century advances, notably in opposition to Rymer's *The Tragedies of the Last Age* (1678) and his later *A Short View of Tragedy* (1692). A growing sense of historical differences, of differences in the tempers and the manners of people, encouraged the notion that there might be one absolute good for Greeks and another for Britons, and ideas like that of progress suggested that poetry might improve as science had improved. Thus a Dennis could believe in relativism of both means and ends, and construct a whole relativist system, which, however badly it fared among Dennis' contemporaries and their descendants, gave order to an attitude which forced the absolutists to a "new absolutism," which derived its authority "from literature itself." As a record of the conflict of relativism with absolutism Mr. Marks's account is the more welcome because it fits in neatly before René Wellek's *A History of Modern Criticism* (1750-1950).

I have very few reservations of any account concerning the book. One reservation may seem to the author an unjust cavil, although I do not mean it to be so. I miss some scope that I could have welcomed. The study is selective, but I am not objecting mainly to eclecticism; the approach has the virtues of its vices. One has the feeling that the book suggests less reliance upon continental thought than there certainly was; Italian sources receive little attention—there is no reference to the studies of Ralph C. Williams, for instance. And Rymer and Samuel Wesley (pp. 58, 85) were not the only critics influenced by Le Bossu. Dryden, Joseph Trapp, and Henry Pemberton demonstrably owed much to him. Similarly, the reader is at the mercy of the author's selections. We miss figures like Edward Howard, Patrick Hume, Richard Fiddes, Thomas Parnell, Jonathan Richardson (both father and son), Thomas Newton, Edward Manwaring, Joseph Spence, "W. J." (of *Monsieur Bossu's Treatise of the Epic Poem*, London, 1695), Pemberton, and Trapp. Some feeling of the adequacy of the selection could have been provided by references to studies like those of Monk and Swedenberg.¹ Swedenberg's book contains a good many references to the relativist-absolutist argument not mentioned in the present volume. On the other hand, Mr. Marks's analysis carries, to a considerable degree, internal validation; if the material the author presents is highly selected, one feels that it is intelligently selected, and that the resulting analysis is probably sound. By his selection the author attains an economy which would be impossible otherwise; since he has published a good brief study, a reviewer would be ungracious to regret that he had not published a good longer study.

My principal reservation concerns Mr. Marks's attitude toward his material. He endeavors to analyze what he calls a "debate," but a difference of this sort is more than a debate; it is also the embodiment of feelings and prejudices. The history of taste is part of the history of criticism, as the history of criticism is part of the history of taste. Whether we like it or not, intellectual positions are not arrived at solely by intellectual means. Mr. Marks observes, concerning relativist criticism, "the draft of ideas . . . indicates not only that it was, but that

¹ Samuel H. Monk, *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England* (New York, 1935); H. T. Swedenberg, Jr., *The Theory of the Epic in England 1650-1800* (Berkeley, 1944).

it is likely to remain, a minor theme" (p. ix). In this he may or may not be right; undergraduates I now encounter are mainly relativist, although those I taught a generation ago were mainly absolutist. Be that as it may, why has criticism been mainly absolutist of one sort or another? Not, as Mr. Marks points out, because one viewpoint is more defensible philosophically than the other. As he does not point out, absolutism has been preferred because people liked it better. People dislike an uncertain world; as emotional people dislike a religiously uncertain world, intellectual people—including critics—dislike an intellectually uncertain world. And only relatively few minds are courageous enough to adopt unwelcome logic; it was probably not entirely because of logical urgings that Dryden drifted back to absolutism. We are all influenced, even the most coldly logical of us, by our social climate, by all the powers of suggestion that make us hospitable or inhospitable to ideas. The impact of ideas is as important as the expression of ideas.

My reservation, then, is that Mr. Marks seems content to ask who said what, without asking who heard what, and who, if anyone, took it to heart. Admittedly the answers are not easy to infer, but something can be done. For example, at least since Hardin Craig's *The Enchanted Glass* (New York, 1936) we have known that, for relatively early authors, one should usually not ask what printed sources were available, but what was the content of common reference works, and what was taught in the schools? I find no indication in *Relativist & Absolutist* that its author had any concern about what happened anywhere in the school system. What was being taught at Oxford? Much could be inferred. Trapp, for example, was the first professor of poetry at Oxford; he had strong relativist leanings, and, although his activities as critic and editor shared time with a variety of interests, he was not the less influential for being before the public eye; and surely much that found its way into his critical notes appeared also in his lectures at Oxford, as they did in his *Lectures on Poetry* (London, 1742). Spence and Thomas Warton also were professors of poetry at Oxford, although Spence may not have lectured much. Similarly, relativist-absolutist argument enlivened such periodicals as *The Weekly Miscellany*, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, *The London Magazine*, but I find no evidence that Mr. Marks makes use of periodical files. For the analysis of a debate he possibly need not do so; but for the history or what he calls an "issue" I should say he does.

It is a pleasure to record that the book is clearly and cogently written, and with a sense of humor. In addition, at least two routine matters warrant comment. The book is excellently and carefully printed. The index provides the detail with which not every author will trouble himself, and the intimate knowledge of the text that usually only an author can provide, but few do.

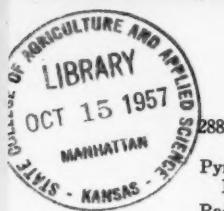
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